

Trauma of the “Quasi-Prisoner”  
-the voice of visitors denied access at the prison gates.

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## Abstract

This thesis examines a previously ignored, highly sensitive and important area of Criminology as it addresses the unique question about how and why visitors to prison are denied entry to visit their incarcerated relatives. It examines how various Technologies of Exclusion (TE) are used in this visit denial process to create the Visitor Victim (V2) and Trauma of the "Quasi-Prisoner". The significant tension created between family visitation and security issues is explored. The impact of privacy laws upon the process of finding participants for this sensitive research is explained, acknowledging that most people prefer not to discuss incarcerated relatives. Third party non- governmental agencies, working with individuals who have 'run up against' the penal system, assisted in this search.

Visitors' issues and attitudes towards prison staff and emerging visit issues are examined, with the impact of visit refusal as a main focus of this research. Safeguarding facilities, at the expense of family relationships, is a constant theme of concern. Better prospects for the reintegration of offenders and the retention of important family relationships can be brought about through the modification of prison regulations. Removal of some of the Technologies of Exclusion would allow prison visits to become less traumatic and a more comfortable experience for offenders, prison staff and visitors.

### Acknowledgements

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## Declaration

Whilst registered as a candidate for the above degree, I have not been registered for any other research award. The results and conclusions embodied in this thesis are the work of the named candidate and have not been submitted for any other academic award.

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Alan James Woodrow", written over a single horizontal line.

... for the Family...

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## Abbreviations

|          |  |
|----------|--|
| BCE      | Before Common Era  |
| CCCR     | Conditional Release Act                                  |
| CDA      | Canada   |
| CFCN     | Canadian Families and Corrections Network                |
| CI       | Confidential Informant                                   |
| CPIC     | Canadian Police Information Centre                       |
| CSC/HMPS | Corrections Service of Canada/HM Prison Service          |
| DCS      | Department of Correctional Services Australia            |
| EFS      | Elizabeth Fry Society                                    |
| ETA      | Escorted Temporary Absence from Prison                   |
| FATF     | Financial Action Task Force                              |
| HM       | Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth II                           |
| HMP      | HM Prison  |
| HMIP     | HM Inspector of Prisons                                  |
| IMS      | Ion Mobile Spectrometry                                  |
| JHS      | John Howard Society                                      |
| MMS      | Minimum Mandatory Sentence                               |
| NMR      | Nelson Mandela Rules                                     |
| Ng       | Nanogram - one billionth of a gram                       |
| NGO      | Non-Governmental Agency                                  |
| NOMS     | National Offender Management System                      |
| ONS      | Office of National Statistics                            |
| P1       | Interview Participant 1, P2, P3, P4 etc.                 |
| PFC      | Prison Fellowship of Canada                              |
| PPR      | Prison Population Ratio                                  |
| PSN      | Pasan Inc., provides community support to former inmates |
| SI       | Survey & Interview participants                          |
| SLS      | St. Leonard's Society                                    |
| TE       | Technologies of Exclusion                                |
| UDHR     | Universal Declaration of Human Rights                    |
| UK       | United Kingdom   |
| USA      | United States of America                                 |
| V2       | Visitor Victims  |
| VCV      | Video-Call Visit(s)                                      |
| VRB      | Visitor Review Board                                     |
| WWI      | World War I  |
| WWII     | World War II   |

## Visitor Victims (V2) and Trauma of the "Quasi-Prisoner"

### Introduction

When I read for my Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology and for two Masters' degrees, my understanding of the benefit of good research seemed to grow. This thesis begins with a narrative of personal experiences and subsequent motivations which have led me to tackle this complex subject. Then, having introduced the research aims, it proceeds briefly with a review of the relevant history of prisons and concludes with an explanation of the structure of the thesis.

When I decided to pursue a Professional Doctorate in Criminal Justice I had no idea that I would study Visitor Victims (V2) and the Trauma of the "Quasi-Prisoner". I was not thinking of victimology as a focus.

However, on the way into prison to visit a friend the Ionscan Spectrometer (IMS) device indicated that I had a 'hit' some illegal substance. I did not believe that because I have never used any illegal drugs in my life. On the contrary, I have spent my entire professional life trying to educate people about why illegal drugs should not be used, and I am not so sure about the legal ones either. I was not thinking of myself as a victim of the prison system. I was thinking of the gut reaction I had when I was told I could not visit. I did not like the fact that people could be kept apart for what seemed to be no valid reason.

When you are at the prison door, feeling sure about your own record of life with no criminal history, it makes you question what contemporary 'society' is doing to those who happen to have incarcerated friends. As the visitor, I was asked to step back into the reception area and to wait for a supervisor, almost as though I have been sent to see the Headmaster or Principal of a school. I had, unwittingly, become a victim of the corrections system.

After waiting more than half an hour, the supervisor arrived and started by asking why I have been associated with drugs. There was no subtlety or diplomacy; it was assumed by Corrections staff (CSC) that the Ion scanner is accurate and that I am the bad guy. There is no discretionary power that this supervisor has or intends to use.

As the visitor I have been, according to the IMS device, associated with prohibited drugs. My visit is cancelled. I must leave and await the answer of a Visit Review Board (VRB) which will be sent to me. Amazed at such abruptness, I have to think about what has just happened.

This research is based on a goal of informing the justice system about the issues facing visitors, who, according to definitions established by the UN (1985, A/RES/40/34, Annex B, s.18) become victims. I have a strong desire to add to the knowledge base that relates to prison visitors, so that possible future studies may build upon what is discovered.



The hitherto unreported issues that relate directly to visitors of the incarcerated must become known to those who have a role in the administration of justice. This will allow the role of the visitor to be transformed into a pleasant and mutually satisfying experience for the offender and the visitor, based upon an understanding of this research.

As the researcher I acknowledge the need for security to ensure the safety of prisoners, guards and visitors. In an ideal world, it would be possible for visitors to come and go with reasonable i.e., less stringent security measures in place. It would also be ideal if the primacy of the family unit could be recognized as equal to or as important as security concerns. Corrections facilities may then be seen to have significantly improved in their level of concern for prisoners and visitors.

I have seen how, when a prison visit is cancelled, the initial reaction of other visitors is one of surprise. Then it becomes one of annoyance or anger and ultimately one of great disappointment. Some visitors become disillusioned with the prison authorities who be so heartless. People who have travelled miles with their family members in order to visit with a relative or friend are turned away for reasons that do not seem to make sense.

On the surface at least, staff appear as though they are only concerned with making sure that prison rules and procedures are followed; no discretionary judgements are exercised. While it is understood that prisons in Canada (CDA) and in the United Kingdom(UK) are statutory institutions governed by hundreds of rules, the general impression is that prison staff do not focus upon maintaining family ties as a concern that is balanced against security concerns.

For offenders, contact with the outside world is an essential component for their rehabilitation and maintenance of current knowledge (Loucks, 2010, p.166). That knowledge is not encouraged. The internet, which could provide safe access to that outside world is forbidden [other facilities e.g., schools, have the ability to limit the types of web sites one may access].

Long-term offenders have no means by which they may keep informed about societal changes. For example, currency notes in Canada are no longer paper, they are plastic. 'Debit' cards are used as a means of paying bills. Banking regulations have changed, with much more stringent requirements for opening accounts since the Financial Action Task Force revised recommendations for the world financial community in 1993 (De Koker, 2006, pp.4-5). Visitors cannot keep their prisoner relatives up to date with societal change if they are excluded from visits. Family members, including children, view contact with their prisoner relatives as essential to the stability of their relationships (Loucks, 2010, p.159). The important goal of the family maintaining relationships is very different from the purpose of the institutional security goals of the prison. This creates an ongoing tension that is recognised as a problem for visitors, but which is not seen as a problem for the prison staff because they work using regulations that stipulate parameters of action. For example, Commissioner's Directives (CSC-CD, 2012), require CSC staff to act on security matters.

To place this research into perspective and to give an idea of the scale of the issue of visit refusals for men and women, I have included some statistics and considerations that have gone into the reasons why Visitor Victims (V2) and The Trauma of the “Quasi-Prisoner” was chosen as a topic for this research.

Many criminological research papers appear to focus on the causes of crime, the ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions about individuals landing in prison and the conditions that exist within institutions, e.g., Toch (1992), Codd, (2010), and Penna (1998, 2005). There have been many authors, writing about empirical studies on a myriad of topics related to the family. As an example, authors such as Mike McGuire, Helen Codd, Yvonne Jewkes, Alison Lieblich and Ben Crewe have all contributed to the *Handbook on Prisons* (2012) which contains a large amount of contemporary information, indicating clearly that criminology is very much alive and examining new phenomena.

One of the main reasons for this research is the lack of knowledge and understanding regarding the experiences of the family visitors who are denied access and the subsequent impacts. In particular, the research examines the process in which visits are denied and the technologies used to inform these decisions.

The findings of this research make an original contribution to the literature, focusing on the purpose and function of family visits, the tensions created between security procedures and maintaining family contact, and the witting or unwitting creation of “quasi- prisoners” through the harms experienced by visitors when attempting to visit a family member.

Contemporary reports indicate that the world prison population has increased as crime rates have dropped (Millie, 2003, p. 370-371; Cobain, 2014; Feeney, 2014). In 2010 Canadian crime rates dropped by 5% and serious crimes dropped by 6%. “According to Statistics Canada virtually all of Canada’s cities reported a drop in the volume and severity of crime, including the country’s 10 largest cities” (National Post, July, 2012). Policy changes, custody rates and differing definitions of crime may have caused this. As an example, if custodial sentences are increased for a crime versus community service sentences, the number of prisoners may grow although the number of crimes committed may be reduced.

In 2009 the world had approximately 9,000,000 people in prison. A significant number of those people were awaiting trial (Walmsley, 2012). “The present global cohort of 3.3 million pre-trial detainees will collectively spend an estimated 660 million days in detention, a terrible waste of human potential that comes at a considerable cost to states, taxpayers, families, and communities”. Each year the European economy pays an estimated \$18 billion for pre-trial detainees (Berry, 2011, p.1).

Pre-trial detention can be devastating for families. HMP Inspector’s Report (2000), in England and Wales showed that half of the men and two-thirds of the women lost their jobs as a result of their pre-trial detention. As detained people they have become

inadvertent victims of the prison system. Another example, from Cook County Illinois, USA, 80% of pre-trial detainees were released with no charges. One-in-five pre-trial detainees in the European Union have been found not guilty at trial (Mik, 2016). Many of these people are then disadvantaged because of unfounded suspicions that break families apart.

In Canada, for the past 10 years (2010-2014), the remand population has consistently exceeded the sentenced population by 4% (Juristat, 2015). When a family member is detained for an average of 167 days (Berry, 2011, p.22) families attempt to stay in touch with their innocent, incarcerated relatives.

In 2016 there are 700,000 women in detention worldwide. The USA has more than 200,000 + female prisoners and Canada had 4000+ women detained in 2014, while the UK held 4372 (Walmsley, 2016). From 2% to 9% of the world prison population are women, the majority of prisoners 91-98% are men.

In the UK (2015) 4.6% of the 85,982 prisoners were women. The prison population ratio (PPR), i.e., the number of people incarcerated per 100,000 of the overall population, was 147.

In Canada (2014), 10.6% of 37,684 prisoners were women and the PPR was 106. In the USA (2013), almost 7% of the 2, 217,000 prisoners were women (Walmsley, 2016, FBOP, 2016). The PPR was 698.

In general terms, each prisoner may have at least one person who may visit. There are therefore, worldwide, more than 9,000,000 potential visitors, who face tremendous pressure because of the incarceration and the arrangements that must be made to enable visits (Loucks, 2010, p.161).

There are many reasons for concern about how visitors to prison are treated. Many people have friends who are behind bars looking out on the world as it leaves them in the wake of societal change. Being sent to prison is punishment for having committed a crime. Offenders should not be punished further through being denied visits from friends and family. This denial of visits constitutes unjust treatment of offenders, since the denial of visits is a form of punishment added upon the offender's loss of freedom.

Visit denial also punishes the innocent visitor. Visitor Victims (V2) and the trauma they experience are the focus of this research, they are the people who would like to visit with their family or friends but are turned away. V2 are victims of state power and control. They become victims as a result of the application of security measures designed to protect offenders and prison staff and which, inadvertently, turn ordinary citizens into victims of a different kind. How V2 are treated is the subject of this paper.

Concurrently, research indicates that prison visits are restricted in a variety of ways in many of the 222 countries documented by The International Centre for Prison Studies (2013). These restrictions are referred to as the Technologies of Exclusion (TE).

## Included Technologies

TE include a wide variety of means by which some visits are curtailed, prohibited or permitted. These include using Laws, Rules, Regulations, Directives, Standing Orders and local policy interpreted and enforced by CSC/HMPS.

TE also include the use of a variety of security mechanisms, including computer technology, and mere suspicion, X-ray People Screeners or Full-Body Screening systems, body orifice scanners (Casciani, 2007), walk-through metal detectors and electronics detectors (Schiffner, 2016, p.20- 28).

In addition, Ionscan machines using the science of ion mobility spectrometry (IMS) are used to detect prohibited substances and which, on occasion, render false positive readings (Verkouteren, 2011, p.190-196; Keller, Keller, Tutsch-Bauer and Monticelli, 2006, p.138). Searches of the person and property, physical barriers, barbed wire fences and specially trained detection dogs are part of TE.

TE were not originally put in place to deter visitors. Prisons are primarily in place to house people who have broken the law. Some offenders are dangerous and will continue to break laws, for example, those who use and sell drugs. That raises genuine concerns for the safety of people including visitors and prison guards, therefore security measures need to be robust. Most governments would state that the technologies described in this paper were justifiably put in place in order to protect offenders and members of the public from harm through violence, prohibited drug use, weapons or other paraphernalia that could be formed into weapons or used to make drugs. It may be seen that some of these technologies go beyond the purposes of security and are unreasonable in their application. The prison systems of Canada, England, Wales, Scotland and Ireland almost routinely turn some visitors into victims.

In Canada, V2 have recently numbered more than 32,000 people each year. However, there are no readily available prison visitor statistics for the UK in this research. The number of prison visitors in the UK is not accounted for in the 'normal' prison statistics. Upon inquiry, it was found that each prison in England keeps visitor records, but a National Offender Management System (NOMS) representative stated that the figures are not held centrally. Answers to questions presented could only be done at 'disproportionate' cost, and were therefore not provided.

Without the official UK figures, these theoretical figures might exist. The *World Prison Brief* (2016) indicates that Canada's prison population is 39% of the prison population of the UK. If conditions and procedures were very similar, based on the larger prison population, it would mean that approximately 82,000 people per year would be turned away from visits in the UK.

Even if this theoretical figure is in error by as much as 20%, that still leaves 65,600 visitors denied contact with their family. This is a significant number of people prevented from visiting their incarcerated family members and to whom TE would apply.

The late Nelson Mandela, a former prisoner at Robben Island and President of South Africa said, "A nation should not be judged by how it treats its highest citizens, but its lowest ones". How Canada, the UK and other nations treat prisoners is open to judgement.

If the 'lowest citizens' mentioned in Mandela's quote are the prisoners, one is tempted to ask, where does that place the visitor to a prison? Research information indicates that the visitor is considered no better than any convicted prisoner. Visitors are made to wait. They are turned away and are not informed about prison related issues when they should be. Many visitors have become disgusted with the "system" for a variety of reasons. The visitors to a prison would appear to qualify as the lowest citizens, unnoticed and uncared for and unwanted, the "forgotten victims of punishment" (Light & Campbell, 2008, p.298).

Often visitors truly feel as though they are 'criminals by proxy' or "quasi-prisoners". Prison staff may view visitors as somehow guilty by association and therefore not worthy of respect or courtesy. When visits are denied, the attitude shown by prison staff manifests itself in a number of different consequences for those involved.

Visitors, whose visits are denied, become victims of the fact that they are related to or well-known by an offender. By prison staff they are 'associated' with a convicted felon and somehow are not perceived as an 'ideal victim' as described by Christie (1986, pp. 17-30). The harm or emotional upset they experience as V2 may not be outwardly noticeable and is therefore not acknowledged. According to participants, there is a great variation in the courtesy or respect afforded visitors. All of this is shown through the structure of this thesis, the aims of which are outlined below.

### Research Aims

To investigate the processes and the technologies that exclude visitors to prisons,

To investigate the reasons given to visitors who are denied entry to prison facilities,

To investigate the impact/costs to inmates and visitors of being denied visits,

To identify the barriers that exist to facilitating prison visits, for example, the disparity between prison policy and actual practices.

### Research Objectives

The primary research objective, from these aims, is to determine the manner in which visitors are denied access to correctional facilities and the type of screening processes that are used. For example, which specific technologies are used as part of the exclusion process? This would indicate if visits are denied through physical searches, machine chemical detection, drug-detector dog response or other factors.

A secondary objective is to examine the transparency of the processes used and the manner in which visitors are treated once denied entry by CSC, for example, are visitors interviewed, are they required to sign documents, are they cautioned or given a hearing? Chapter Two provides a critical review of the literature associated with prisons and prison visitors. The chapter reveals how the visitors' role has been seen to

be useful to the prison system as it developed. Later, as prison inspections began and more interest was shown in reform measures, the usefulness of visitor roles declined.

Chapter Three focuses upon the importance of family ties and issues related to the imprisonment of family members. It shows the contradictory position of advocating rehabilitation and welfare, which stresses the importance of family ties versus the neo- classical approach with its emphasis on punishment, security and the containment of risk. The impact on those people left behind, when their relatives are imprisoned, is explored and notes that prison visits are now declining.

Chapter Four provides a rationale for the choice of research methods. The aims and objectives of this research are placed into the context of personal paradigms. The process of finding participants is described with due regard for ethical concerns. The research has been accomplished by employing mixed methods which included interviews and an on-line survey. Valuable qualitative information has been gathered from unstructured interviews and compared to quantitative survey information. This enabled data to be verified and integrated to reveal a comprehensive and reliable interpretation. It created the potential to make recommendations for areas of future research.

Chapter Five critically examines the themes that have emerged, through narrative analysis of the lived experience of visit denial.

Chapter Six summarises the major themes identified by the research and makes recommendation for further contributions to the criminal justice knowledge base. There are relatively few studies about prison visitors, and in particular no studies have been found that focus on the experiences of those visitors who are turned away at the prison door and the procedures followed. Nowhere in the prison or criminology literature are there studies about the immediate impact of denied visits upon a family.

When a nine-year-old child says “I guess we can’t have a hug this time”, as he leaves his father behind after a closed visit [a closed visit is one where there is a physical barrier between the prisoner and the visitor] brought about by IMS false positive readings, there is something rotten in the state of prison policy and something sadly lacking in this vital area of criminal justice studies with reference to the impact of visit denial upon children. This study will therefore attempt to contribute greater knowledge to this almost vacant area and the causes and consequences of visit denial by the use of technologies of exclusion.

The nine-year-old boy is one of a very large number of children separated from parents through imprisonment. He is a victim of the justice system through no fault of his own. He has no control over the fact that his parent is imprisoned; he has become a victim of social injustice through the removal of regular contact with his parent.

Victims of serious crime came to be acknowledged as a political entity in the late 1960s through the establishment of the Criminal Injuries Compensation Authority, in 1964 (Walklate, 2007, p.3). The concept of being a victim is most commonly associated with the impact of a shocking [traumatic] event upon a person, for example, murder, rape or assault. It is reasonable to acknowledge that serious crime has a very strong impact upon the emotional and physical well-being of the victim (McGuire, 1980, p.261).

There are other forms of victimization which are brought about by non-violent crime, for example, extortion, fraud, theft, threatening, manipulation and deception. These non-violent crimes, clearly within the domain of criminal sanction, may not render physical harm, however, it should be acknowledged that these crimes also have a strong emotional or traumatic impact upon a person. According to the UN *Declaration of Basic Principles of Justice for Victims of Crime and Abuse of Power*, it may be seen that **prison visitors are also victims** (*researcher emphasis*).

Victim means persons who, individually or collectively, have suffered harm, including physical or mental injury, emotional suffering, economic loss or substantial impairment of their fundamental rights, through acts or omissions that are in violation of criminal laws operative within Member States, including those laws proscribing criminal use of power (United Nations Office at Vienna, 1999, p. iv).

Visitors who are turned away, often suffer emotionally over a long period of time, as revealed during interviews; many suffer economic loss and feel that their rights are abused. Visitors become the victims of this process. The impact of their experiences and the trauma experienced is similar to conditions described by the UN definition of harm caused by victimisation and abuse of power (UN A/RES/40/34, 1985).

However, being treated as a “quasi-prisoner”, not as a victim of crime but as victim of association with a person classed as a criminal, places V2 in the unique position of not being considered “an ideal victim” (Christie, 1986, pp. 17-30), and therefore any harm suffered is not acknowledged. For example, the right to maintain contact with or give support to their family member is violated. Visitor children, who are denied access to their parents, are also victims. The evidence of their emotional suffering is well documented in behavioural studies of the children of incarcerated parents (Loucks, 2010, p.158). This emotional suffering is caused by the tension created when visitors' needs and the security needs of correctional institutions have completely different objectives.

#### V2 and the Interpretation of Legislation and Prison Rules.

“Prison is an extensively rule-bound institution where the prison authorities can almost always point to a rule at some level of the hierarchy as the basis for any action that they take”, according to Livingstone and Owen (1999, cited by Loucks, 2000, p.1). In her book *Prison Rules*, Loucks (2000) carefully describes the interplay of rules, regulations and orders. To state that it is difficult to follow the various clauses and requirements of the legislation regarding prisons is an understatement.

The 'coal face' interpretation and use of the rules and regulations by prison staff creates a new class of victim, the visitor victim, V2, who are the victims of exceptional State power and control (Zinger, 2016, p.610). These victims are not written about in the literature of victimology, nor are they reported by any media. They are not the "ideal victim" that draws attention. Media coverage of victims normally includes such things as natural disasters, burglary, rape, murder and terrorist attacks (Walklate, 2007, p.1; Greer, 2007, p.26). Rarely, if ever, does media coverage refer to victims of the justice (penal) system.

V2 are viewed today just as the victim of serious crime was in the early 1960s, they are the 'marginal and passive figure' as described by Miers (1978, cited by Kearon, 2007, p.17), who had yet to be acknowledged, including their children, as a concern for or by politicians.

Contemporary media reports appear not to be interested in reporting the following: the number of children separated by parental imprisonment. In the USA, this is more than 2.7 million (Harvey, 2015, p.12), in contrast to the European Union where approximately 800,000 children have an incarcerated parent (Smith, 2015, p.152). In England and Wales this figure approached 200,000 per year, based on 2009 figures (Smith, 2014, p.8). American surveys show that 80% of imprisoned women are mothers (Smith, 2014, p.44). The number of mothers who leave children behind is not easy to determine.

National reporting systems classify information differently and do not necessarily gather the same information. World Prison Brief (Walmsley, 2014) for example, collects a wide variety of data, but not about prisoners who leave children behind. Although one may learn, for example, that the average Danish prisoner has more than one child at home, it is, at this point, difficult to determine how many incarcerated mothers leave children at home (Smith, 2014, p.44). All of these children are potential visitors to prisons. Many have to rely upon guardians or relatives to facilitate visits. How many of these children's visits are successful or rejected remains an unknown and currently appears to be a poorly researched area.

This study seeks to find grounds for striking a practical balance between the security needs of the prison and the published philosophy of CSC/HMPS which clearly states that family visitation is important. There is a tension between the wish of visitors to meet incarcerated relatives and the wish of CSC staff to fulfil their security obligations. The unnecessary exclusion of visitors should not occur if there is genuine support in prison policy and practice that requires family relationships to be supported.



## The Literature of the Prison Visitor

Contemporary scholarship, including texts and journal articles about prisons, prisoners, prison visits and people who work within the correctional system, reveals many publications, i.e., researched, peer reviewed and recently published. Prison studies are numerous and also complex. There are many interesting areas which overlap, for example, prisoner mental health, self-harm, depression, suicide, prison rules, parole requirements and recidivism (Braman, 2007; Codd, 2012; Garland, 2001; Loucks, 2000; Fazel, Hayes, Bartellas, Clerici & Trestman, 2016).

Articles focusing upon prisoners' families focus on the problems they face without their partners (Parkes, 2006; Codd, 2013; Arditti, 2012; Ebtehaj, 2006) and criminological research suggests that the harms of imprisonment go far beyond the prison walls: incarceration does affect and harms families and children of those incarcerated as well as the prisoner (Murray, 2005, pp.442-445). This is further indicated in works that debate the value of prison visits and some which show that prisoners behave better in anticipation of having visitors (Siennick, Mears and Bales, 2013, p.437). These contrast with other studies showing that a prisoner, being more aware of what is missed, becomes more frustrated. "Loss of outside relationships is considered the most painful aspect of confinement for prisoners", according to Flanagan and Richards (cited by Murray, 2005, p.442).

Significantly there are studies that show a definite correlation between having visitors and less recidivism. It has been shown, over the last fifty years, that prisoners who have visitors are less likely to commit further crimes when released (Codd, 2011, p.14; Derkzen, Gobeil & Gileno, 2009, pp.1-7; Holt & Miller, 1972, p.5; Schafer, 1994, p.17).

However, the prison visitor is a person who is seldom written about in the media and is noted in the prison regulations only where security or control issues apply to visits (CCRR, 2012, s.9). There are very few publications that describe the circumstances related to the prison visitor. As consistently noted in this research, prison visitors often suffer from trauma. Trauma is often thought of as being physical in nature, the result of battery, torture, rape, assault, motor vehicle accidents and a large variety of physical illnesses that have traumatic impact. Trauma results from many sources, some of which are primarily emotional in origin.

Visitors who have their visits refused, often find themselves in a category of people who suffer from emotional trauma which, according to the American Psychological Association (APA), is defined as "the emotional response someone has to an extremely negative event. While trauma is a normal reaction to a horrible event, the effects can be so severe that they interfere with an individual's ability to live a normal life."

Further, trauma is described by Giller (1999, p.1), as "...a traumatic event or situation creates psychological trauma when it overwhelms the individual's ability to cope. The individual may feel emotionally, cognitively, and physically overwhelmed.

The circumstances of the event commonly include abuse of power, betrayal of trust, entrapment, helplessness, pain, confusion and/or loss”.

All visitor participants expressed that they were shocked and overwhelmed by visits being refused. Being kept apart from their relatives was described as extremely upsetting. The responses/reactions to separation of family members by death is not the same as separation of family members by incarceration. As noted by Fritsch and Burkhead (1981, p.84), “Family separation caused by death, injury or other causes usually provides a focal concern around which the remaining members can rally and mitigate the impact of their loss. Loss of a family member due to imprisonment, on the other hand, rarely elicits a sympathetic response from significant others nor is it the kind of crisis that serves to draw members of the immediate family closer together.” Family members often unite around a set of feelings and memories related to the deceased.

This grieving process is very different from the emotional response when losing a person because they have broken the law and brought about their own separation from the family, sometimes bringing about a sense of shame and being guilty by association. This guilt by association creates stress into all areas of family life. It changes perceptions of relationships. It is a very sensitive issue that required careful consideration of method choices when undertaking this research. For example, family members, who are shamed by their relatives’ crimes, suffer from stress and grief and often will not speak out about their situation, especially with strangers, where there is no established trust relationship. This is one of the reasons that may have added to the difficulty in finding participants for this research.

Most prison visitors experience deep emotional turmoil; their mental health is impacted through the loss of a loved person and ongoing concern over the relative’s safety, as indicated in the research survey (Q19, Q24), and on the ALERT Mental Wellness Assessment Scale (Hannem 2015, p.5). This Canadian study included relatives of prisoners, people of different race and gender, social and cultural groups, urban and rural residents. The aim was to determine the mental impact as a family member turns to crime, evaluating mental health status when their family member was incarcerated and following ongoing issues to determine if stressors lead to crime or criminogenic factors for the family members, for example drug and alcohol abuse. The results indicated moderate and severe stress is experienced by 41% and 25% of respondents respectively.

Concern for the well-being of family members is a priority, not exceeded by any other, as indicated in the thousands of descriptive phrases that cite the family as the prime relationship to which individuals belong (Parkes, Stevenson-Hinde & Marris, 2006; Cunningham-Burley & McKie, 2006; Cheal, 2008; Bernardes, 2008). Examination of the causes of trauma suffered by visitors reveals that the technologies of exclusion may be considered directly responsible for decisions taken by prison staff at the entrance to a prison.

These technologies include physical barriers (locked doors, barbed wire fences), X-ray machines, body scanners, electronic detection scanners, ion scanners, drug-detection dogs. These barriers also include the many Acts of Parliament, Regulations, Rules and Directives that derive from those Acts.

In 2016, there are 924 prison service instructions and service orders on the books in the UK that prescribe how prisons should be managed. It is not surprising that these 46,000 pages of regulations, rules and directives are difficult to follow without being misinterpreted from time to time (Cameron, 2016, p.120). It is also possible that some of the rules are just not implemented as intended for a range of different reasons.

The technologies used to permit or prevent people visiting a prison, for reasons of security or safety, are used singly or in combination. This research has shown that a major source of discontent amongst the majority of participants is the use of the Ion Mobility Spectrometer (IMS) device which is designed to detect trace amounts of chemicals, i.e., prohibited drugs or explosives.

The response to an Access to Information request (2014) indicated that there have been 55 of these used in Canada for more than 10 years. Most are the 400b model IMS produced by Barringer-Smith Technologies Inc. These instruments are extremely sensitive and the security industry acknowledges that this is a concern in some settings as it measures drug particulates on the scale of nanograms, i.e., one billionth of a gram.

According to one study, Tested Optimum Minimum Detection Limits, for the 400b IMS, are in the range of .5ng to 0.01ng., depending upon the drug. Detection of such small particles frequently causes 'false-positive' readings (Butler, 2002, p. 2). The practical reliability of IMS units, shows that they effectively detect powdered or liquid forms of drugs; the finer the powder the greater the likelihood of detection. This illustrates that other forms of drugs such as pills and larger particles (i.e., marijuana), are less likely to be detected (Butler, 2002, p.9).

A request for more information about the operational capacity of these machines and the training required to operate them, was denied. Attempts to obtain information about the training that CSC personnel receive on IMS devices were refused under sections 16 (1) d and 20 (1) c of the Access to Information Act (Canada, 1985a). These requests, apparently relate to information "which could reasonably be expected to be injurious to the security of penal institutions". Information about the cost of IMS devices was rejected because it "...could reasonably be expected to result in material financial loss or gain to, or which could reasonably be expected to prejudice the competitive position of a third party."

Public knowledge about CSC personnel being appropriately trained on IMS devices is hard to interpret as being a security risk. Knowing the cost of IMS devices does not constitute any risk to the competitiveness of any third party, although it might constitute an embarrassment for the government that made those purchases because the IMS devices work so poorly.

Questions of Barringer-Smith about IMS devices and how they work were refused on 'proprietary' grounds. It was learnt that the 400b model has been replaced with models containing newer technology. The spokesperson was emphatic that they 'self-calibrate'. This makes no sense since Commissioner's Directives clearly state that machine cleaning and calibration must take place routinely (CSC-CD, 2012,566-8-2).

When Barringer-Smith was asked about false-positive readings my questions were again rebuffed. CSC knew about false-positive readings in 2001 where they were mentioned in correspondence from an Assistant Commissioner (Correctional Operations), to the Correctional Inspector, at a time when fourteen machines had given false-positive readings which were brought to the attention of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC). On that occasion those machines were taken out of service, being deemed unreliable. Details of how many visits were interrupted at that time have not been obtained although CSC stated that there was no impact upon visits (ATI-IMS,2001).

The use of specially trained drug-detection dogs has been the cause of visit cancellations. They are used everywhere in Canada, at airports, bus stations, train stations, large scale public events and prisons.

Dogs' noses are uniquely equipped as they possess potentially billions of chemical receptors or olfactory cells capable of detecting odours undetectable by human senses, according to Bird (1997, p.409). Drug-detection dogs have been used for many years and are recognized as a legitimate support in the fight against prohibited drugs. However, as noted by Cheverie and Johnson (2011), "the only available evidence for the effectiveness of drug dogs in reducing drug use in a correctional environment is anecdotal. Many correctional employees believe that the mere presence of dogs in facilities may serve as deterrent against drug smuggling".

Drug-detection dogs may render 'false positive' and 'false negative' indications. Much depends upon the training and interpretive skills of the dog handler, which have been questioned in American Courts, challenging the reliability of dog searches (Bird, 1997, 427; Dobson, 2012, p. 64). Even though drug-detection dogs are used in Canada, the USA, the UK and Australia, there is little empirical evidence to demonstrate the effectiveness of their use. Their use has not yet been legally challenged in CDA, England or Wales as it has in New South Wales, Australia and the USA under laws related to the intrusion of privacy of person as an invasion of human rights (Marks,2007, p.258).

According to the UK Human Rights Act (1998), "The right to privacy can be defined as the right of the individual to determine for themselves when, how and to what extent they will release personal information about themselves." Given the international context of Human Rights conventions and treaties, it is surprising that Canadian justices have not yet had to rule on this matter.

Human Rights literature is extensive. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) contains thirty about international human rights expected to be acknowledged by member states. When V2 are denied access to their family (UN Report, 2004) human rights are violated. There is, however, a recurring theme which indicates that nation States, as members of the United Nations, insist that their sovereignty is inviolate. Of the current 193 (2017) member states, all agreed in principle to the following;

"... the rule of law refers to a principle of governance in which all persons, institutions and entities, public and private, including the State itself, are accountable to laws that are publicly promulgated, equally enforced and independently adjudicated, and which are consistent with international human rights norms and standards" (UN Secretary General Report, 2004).

When it comes to upholding the principles of Human Rights, there are differing versions of what Human Rights appear to be. Human Rights are designed to protect universal values such as peace, prosperity, freedom, diversity, identity and belonging. The crucial point here is that although the State may violate human rights, that action does not hide the existence of those rights nor does it remove the member State's responsibility for upholding them (Spagnoli, 2007, p.30-32). The idea that family members have a right to belong together is considered an accepted *modus operandi* for Western cultures. This applies in contemporary times even though the role and structure of the family may be changing.

Today, the family institution is being shaken by a deconstruction process that affects all the constituent dimensions that came together in the fifteenth century, [conjugal, child-centred, or nuclear cultural], forming a universal and original type. So profound is this change that it has eradicated the classical distinctions within Western society (Dagenais, 2008, p. xi).

As the contemporary family structure has changed, the nature of punishment and prisons has also changed. Chapter Three will address changes in family structure, whilst the remainder of this chapter will place prisons and punishment into social and historical context so that we may see how families and relatives of offenders may have been impacted.

### A Brief Historical Perspective on Punishment, Prisons and the Role of the Visitor

Throughout history the philosophy of punishment has varied, with public attitudes of what contemporaneous societal perceptions of justice values have been. More traditional themes centred around punishing the person, imprisoned for punishment, through pain and suffering, including shaming in the pillory, the ducking stool, branding, whipping, torture, hanging, drowning, burning, being buried alive and decapitation (Peters, 1995, p.35). Visitors were unnecessary as punishments were physical and public (Speirenburg, 1998, p. 53).

In Europe, between the 5th and 15th Century, prisons were holding places. "... to serve as a deterrent to other crime" (Peters, 1995, pp.34-35). Later, in the 16th Century, ideas

about idleness and morality led to physical labour as a solution for “evil conduct”, (Rusche,1980, cited by Garland,1990, p.61; Speirenburg, 1998, p.65), and houses of correction were built all over northern Europe (Mathiesen, 2005, p.30). Prisoners provided a cheap source of labour and visits were not encouraged.

In the 18th Century, “...the tide turned against torture and cruel punishment.” This change made imprisonment become a firmly established element of punishment according to Hunt (2004, pp.45-46), and prison became the main institution for combating crime about 200 years ago (Spierenburg,1995,p.49).

Immanuel Kant’s *Philosophy of Law* (1796, cited by Honderich, 2005, p.22), states that men should get what they deserve for doing wrong. Kant believed that all punishment was to be founded on religiously based moral values. Family and friends were not part of the equation; the impact of punishment upon others was not an issue. The consideration of visits from family members and friends had nothing to do with sentencing in the 1700s when imprisonment was statistically insignificant; by 1775 only one tenth of offenders were imprisoned.

Statute law, having curtailed the use of the death penalty from the middle of the 18th century (Emsley, 2013), meant that many prisoners were transported to Virginia and Maryland. Transportation was an ‘out of sight, out of mind’ solution that lasted throughout the 18th century. For some offenders, it was an exchange worth taking; transportation instead of being hung which, in turn, meant being removed from society and having no possibility of retaining contact with family members.

In response to growing crime in the 1770s and early 1780s and pressure from reformers, new prisons were designed and separate prisons were built for women (McGowen, 1995, p.89). Accompanying the shift from physical punishment to incarceration few visitors came to see the incarcerated (Robinson 2009, p.17). “Any contact that might resemble normal sociability among prisoners or with the outside world would become a target for controls and prohibitions” as noted by McGowen (1995, p.108), while at the same time, under some pressure from physicians, prison administrators became eager to reassert their control over entry to their institutions .

Significantly, visitors became unnecessary to the function of reform. Garvey notes that (1998, p.341), penitentiaries had been “founded...in large part on the redeeming power of hard labour.” Visitors were not welcome as they would impede the labour of offenders. The Penitentiary Houses Act of 1799 (HM Government, 1799), shows that prison labour was an essential component of punishment, “..accompanied by well-regulated Labour and religious Instruction, it might be the means, under Providence, not only of deterring others from the Commission of the like Crimes, but also of reforming the Individuals, and inuring them to habits of industry” (Taylor, 1979, p.396).

By the 1830's, across the Atlantic Ocean, incarceration had become the central feature of the justice system (Rothman, 1995, p. 111). In Canada, the Kingston Penitentiary in Ontario opened and visitors were allowed. The first annual report of 1853 included a section entitled "Visitors" where it noted that there was to be:

"Free Admission at the gate, between the hours of ten and twelve o'clock in the afternoon, each day, except Sunday, when visitors are not admitted, shall be granted to such persons only as are privileged by law to enter i.e., chaplains, inspectors, court officials, and that all other persons (except under circumstances hereafter specified) shall be liable to payments of admission fees as follows: Male adults 1s 3d each, Females and children 7 1/2p. each (Miron, 2011, p.17).

Admission charges became the first screening device for the visitor, coupled with limits on visiting days. The first Technology of Exclusion was coin of the realm, which provided funding for prison maintenance. Prisons were to be self-financing and jailers charged fees for bedding, food, beer and fees owed for legal services (McGowen, 1995, p. 82). Visitors were family members, physicians, priests and members of the public. Some visitors were useful as informers who passed information to jailers. Many visitors would have relayed information to other members of the community; conveying messages that might have acted as a deterrent from offending and in doing so created causes for reform.

Priests and physicians visited the sick. Administrators knew that the buildings were open to scrutiny (Miron, 2011, p.17), and were reassured that the public knew what was going on. Shore, (2001, p.76, cited by Miron, 2011), stated that, "The nineteenth century was one of the most visual periods in Western culture as ideals of precise observation were exalted in the sciences and were evident in the literary and popular fascination with spectacle".

Urry (1999, p.73), states that "Observation became the base of scientific legitimacy", the foundation for scientific method. Prison visits were opportunities for observation and were considered to be entertainment, to be enjoyed. According to Miron (2011, p.120), visitors to prisons were numbered in the thousands and "people were especially drawn to exhibitions involving humans who embodied the exceptional, physical, mental or behavioural traits."

The concept of "institutional tourism", strange as it may seem compared to contemporary practices, was alive and well during the 19th century. Policies developed by administrators were designed to make sure that the penitentiary would not be isolated from the wider community. Members of the public could visit, see punishment imposed and witness the pain and suffering inflicted. This was a time of the classical approach to punishment, the just deserts of crime made visual for public visitors.

During the latter 18th and early 19th century as prison systems were changing, prison administrators would manage the prison and asylum routines while encouraging visitors and ties with the outside world. Visiting prison was inextricably linked to the societal views of the early 19th century encouraging curiosity about scientific medical

and social progress and industrialization. For example, for the first time, science became part of the school curriculum in Europe and in the USA (De Boer, 2000, p.583).

The social milieu encouraged a shift in the underpinning ideology, from a classical to a positivist approach. The purpose of prisons changed, from that of a holding place to a place of reform. Conditions therefore needed to be improved since the purpose was then to release reformed prisoners into society.

### The Prison and Mental Asylum

Concurrently there were no institutional housing facilities for the mentally ill. It was common practice to accommodate these people within the same facilities used by convicted prisoners in the UK, CDA and the USA. The Asylum and Prison became a place for the visitor to see the curious behaviours of these incarcerated people, to be entertained and perhaps learn why they themselves would not like to be incarcerated. Visitors often turned up out of curiosity to see the “antics of the mad in this human zoo” (Leacock, 1907, p.74), and as described by Arnold (2008, p.1): “Londoners flocked to Bedlam to laugh at the antics of the inmates: a visit to the madhouse was a good day out, ranking with a public execution and featuring in all the popular tourist guides.

Visiting prisons and asylums was an accepted social activity. Viewing the deviant offender allowed the public to see themselves in perspective (Miron, 2011, p.120). Visitors would then not willingly want to be on the other side of the fence as an offender, looking out or being looked at as though they were a commodity for the viewing pleasure of others.

Visitors helped in shaping public opinion about prisons and prisoners (Miron, 2011, p.7). Prison reformers like Fry, Bentham, Paul and Howard challenged the status quo. Elizabeth Fry, a dedicated prison reformer in the early 1800s, gained a reputation for assisting those in need (Sangster, 2004, p.228). Fry supported the classification of prisoners and productive labour in prison (Cooper, 1981, p.675).

Jeremy Bentham (1748-1832) a philosopher, jurist and social reformer, is considered perhaps to be the main prison reformer of the Victorian era. He supported the idea of hard labour (Cooper 1981, p.676), and in the complete removal of physical punishment and the death penalty. His view on punishment was quite clear: “Punishment, whatever shape it may assume, is an evil” (Bentham, 1830, p.1).

George Paul listed abuses within the prisons in Gloucester, where he sought and found political support to build a new county jail and five bridewells. He arranged to have prisoners visited daily and for their provision of food while making sure that chaplains visited regularly (McGowan, 1995, pp.91-92). There were authors critical of prison conditions, for example, Charles Dickens. He described the dire state of the prisons in his novels *David Copperfield* and *Little Dorrit*. It would not be unfair to suggest that these books may also have had an influence on the public understanding of prison conditions and the need for reform. Other reformers including Sir Samuel Romilly (Fraser, 1907), William Blackstone (Jones, 1973), Abigail Gibbons (Bacon, 2000), and Sir Robert Peel had a significant influence upon reform of prisons (Gash, 1960).



As Home Secretary (1821-1827), Sir Robert Peel founded the Metropolitan Police Force (1829), cleared out the “mediaeval chaos” of the prison system and was responsible for the passage of the Gaol Act of 1823, requiring quarterly reports of prison administration and the systematic inspections of facilities. It also brought in the Code of Rules for prisons, some of which are still in place today.

As more inspections took place, with increased official supervision, visits became more restricted. Visitors could no longer see how prisoners were treated. This also applied in Canada, where from 1867 onwards prisons were inspected and closely monitored by government (Christie, 1882). Prison reformers had brought about changes in attitudes, making the public increasingly aware of prison conditions, and in so doing had limited the number and frequency of visits that prisoners could receive.

Women prisoners were not well looked after, often being housed in the same quarters with men. Elizabeth Fry was especially concerned with those women who were transported on convict ships, since many were sexually exploited, as they were in other prisons (Zedner, 1995. p.333). Conditions for women prisoners were harsh and it was not until the passage of the Gaol Act in 1823 that women were provided separate quarters. Many reformers, for example Sarah Martin, Octavia Hill, John Clay and Elizabeth Fry, believed in the basic good nature of people. Their work was noticed by people in charge of prisons, by Quaker groups, the Salvation Army and Members of Parliament and it started to reform the underpinning ideas and aims of punishment (Forsythe & Jordan, 2002 p. 853).

Reform, ironically, meant that prisons lost their appeal as places of entertainment and admission fees no longer brought in sufficient funds to maintain establishments. Administrative attitudes altered under pressure from reformers. During the 1880s, visiting was no longer a continuation of earlier practices according to Miron (2011, p.255). Visitors found themselves acting as unofficial inspectors reporting to prison managers. They had, indirectly, become part of the reform mechanism. Visitor contacts had become a part of the fundamental process to improve the treatment of the criminal and the patient. With encouragement from medical and institutional administrators, the insane and the criminal were open to visitor observations and, by default, indirect monitoring, and since inspectors would inform the administrators of prison conditions, visitors were of less and less use in that role.

The first attempt to make inspections official was in 1735 by William Hay. It was not until 1777, after the publication of John Howard’s book *The State of the Prisons*, that the inspection of prisons was approved (Stockdale 1983, p.210). The first official Annual Report by the modern Inspectorate of Prisons was issued in 1982 by HM Chief Inspector of Prisons, Philip Barry.

Paradoxically prison and asylum management moved more towards treatment of the individual pursuing a more positivist rather than a classical approach. Positivism sees the offender as a passive victim of either psychological or physiological conditions or outside forces or situations.

The set of assumptions that drove the positivist 'treatment model' dominated how offenders were dealt with up to the middle of the twentieth century (Tierney, 2009, p.113). Positivist interventions are aimed at changing people through modifying their social and environmental situations (Robinson, 2009, p.5). Prisons were a place of detention and reform with a purpose of changing offenders so that they might be of productive use to society.

A reformed offender would, theoretically, become a sufficiently disciplined worker who could then contribute his labour in the factories of industry, thus supporting the economy and his or her family (Cooper, 1981, p.679). Strong family ties are known to assist the reform of prisoners and their reintegration to society (LaVigne, Naser, Brooks & Castro, 2005, cited in De Claire & Dixon (2017, p.185). According to Sharma & Stewart (2008, cited by Farmer, 2017, p.7), " ...for a prisoner who receives visits from a partner or family member, the odds of reoffending are 39% lower than for prisoners who had not received such visits."

In keeping with societal views, different philosophical approaches, positivist and classical, lead to the handling of punishment or rehabilitation in different ways which influenced the role and purpose of the visitor. As an example, the visitors' voyeurism and entertainment of the 19th century was regarded differently in the 20th century, when visiting was acknowledged as a useful agency contributing to a prisoner's rehabilitation through the benefit of the exchange of ideas and maintenance of relationships.

The literature also shows that prison visits had been social adventures that fitted the category of 'dark tourism', or voyeurism, while some may have been educational or research intentions (Lennon & Foley, 2000, cited by Pakes, 2015, p.266). 'Visiting Committees of Justices', monitoring the day-to-day life of a prison, had been in place since the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (Jewkes & Bennett, 2008, p.137).

These were part of a system designed to provide information to authorities, to justify how things were being done. Some visitors provided information to civil liberties organizations, and according to Rothman (2013, p.607), the history of mental hospital and penal reform of the late twentieth century shows that it was these civil liberties organizations and litigators who established the principles of treatment in prisons, not the ordinary lay visitor.

The focus of prisons became one of trying to reform and rehabilitate, an ideal which carried into the 1960s and 1970s, when the eventual demise of rehabilitation started to happen with the emergence of a neo-classical political approach and new conservatism. The rehabilitative welfare ideal, which had grown out of a humanistic tradition, had the focus of sentencing upon the individual. Prison visits were considered beneficial as research had linked contact with family as a factor in reducing recidivism (Hairston, 2001, p.2: Duwe & Clark, 2011, p.289). Rehabilitation was firmly in place from the 1950's until the late 1960's (Sarre, 2001, p.39), while crime rates were rising.

## Prison in the 21st Century

Prisons have become more focused upon security issues as a priority which are theoretically balanced with maintaining family contacts for prisoners. According to Day, Hewson & Spiropoulos (2015, p.21), ...Lord Woolf recognised the critical role that families can play in helping to keep people in prison motivated, preparing and supporting them on release and encouraging them to desist from crime.

Security issues and the introduction of newer technologies, such as Video-call visitation (VCV), described below, diminishes the possibility of direct contact between offenders and their visitors. Where it is acknowledged that drugs and weapons create the potential for serious danger to offenders, staff and visitors, a balance between security issues and the goal of family reintegration must be maintained, if correctional systems are to be considered truly effective in their stated roles.

In addition to the possibility that drugs and weapons get into prisons, there are events that bring changes in how security matters are handled. An attempted breakout at HMP Long Lartin (April 1990), data breaches in 1999 (Independent, July, 1999), a prison riot in British Columbia causing death (CBC News, 2008), a large volume of drugs entering HMP Camp Hill (Independent, May, 2011), data breaches at HMP Cardiff (iGov News, 2014) and at the Northern Ireland Prison Service (Kearney, 2016), have influenced changes in security procedures.

Prison disturbances, although few and far between at any one institution, are also a concern, the most recent in Canada being at the Central North Correctional Centre, Penatanguishene, Ontario (Ferreira, 2015; Sawa & Loiero, 2013). In the 57 Correctional institutions in Canada, including minimum, medium, maximum security levels and regional psychiatric centres, there were 357 disturbances reported in 2011 and 166 in the year prior (Cohen, 2012). These disturbances included riots, destruction of property, fire and mass disobedience of Corrections staff. Understandably there are, on occasion, 'disturbances' within facilities that, for safety reasons, are best brought under control without the presence of visitors within a facility.

These events impact visitors because tougher security measures apply to all people. The screening of visitors has become more strictly enforced by Correctional staff because of security breaches and the contemporary societal fear of many forms of terrorism, news of which is conveyed by media that is instantaneous and unfiltered. According to Doward (2015), "Research has found that sensationalist media coverage of acts of terrorism results in more such acts being committed". Societal reaction to media coverage influences security matters by encouraging more strict enforcement. Such media coverage is worthy of detailed examination at another time.

There are now (2016) more than 10.35 million people in prisons around the world, the largest group, 2.217 million, is in the USA (Walmsley, 2016). The USA prison figures have exceeded the 2013/14 accommodation capacity.

In the UK, by 2013, prison capacity was exceeded by more than 11% (ICPR, 2013) with 85,201 people incarcerated (NOMS, 2014). Prisoners held in excess of facility capacity in the UK or the USA are a concern. In theory, as the number of prisoners increases, the number of prison visitors would increase. There are not enough visitor time-slots for all prisoners to have a one-hour visit twice a month, the time allowed under UK law or in the USA where time allocated for visits is two hours. In order to cope with this, in some areas in the USA they have introduced a new process.

The newest technology that impacts visitors is the for-profit video-call "visitation" (VCV) provided by 'Securus Technologies'. The Texas based company has contracts with 2500 correctional facilities and has installed Securus devices which facilitate visits that cost the prisoner approximately \$3.90 for the first minute and a fee of \$0.75 or \$0.95 for each additional minute. Securus now obligates many of these correctional facilities to eliminate in-person visits completely, in favour of their video systems. In other words, even if a family member or friend shows up to the jail to visit in person, they'd be forced to talk through a Securus-branded video tablet. Often, the inmate is sitting just one room over (Markowitz, 2015).

In some facilities VCV completely replaces in-person visits that have been shown to be so vital for prisoners' successful rehabilitation and reintegration into society (Doctorow, 2016). The world of corrections in the USA has now entered the domain of virtual visitation, removing all chance of direct human contact from family members. VCV began in 2015 and there is no research to indicate how this may relate to rehabilitation for a prisoner. In some parts of the USA there will be fewer issues at the prison door as there will be no visitors to screen. This may reduce the workload of correctional officers but it has a negative result for the offender and his family.

Families state (Q19 & Q24), that they wish to visit in person "to see that he is safe", "to discuss matters face to face", "to get his advice", "I have a need to be near him" and, "he is my main source of affection and comfort". Family members also state that their relationships are "extremely important to me" and, "we have to maintain our relationship". New technologies may make security issues less staff focused, but at what cost to the stated purpose of rehabilitation and family support?

The negative impact of VCV upon the relationship between attorneys, clients and visitors is being contested in the courts of the USA. Securus has now been hit with three lawsuits over the video visitation issue. One suit, filed in July 2014 by the Texas Civil Rights Project, claims video visits between inmates and their attorneys are recorded and illegally shared by the correctional facility with prosecuting attorneys, and a second suit claims the removal of in-person visitations violates antitrust laws because it "compels visitors to incur costs they would not otherwise be required to incur." (Michigan U. Law, 2014; Markowitz, 2015). The costs that prisoners are obliged to pay as a condition for having a visit and the loss of contact between visitors and family members has raised concerns seeking redress. According to Rizzi (2017), "A former inmate and a family member of a current inmate have filed a proposed class action claiming Securus Technologies, Inc. charges "exorbitant" rates and fees for incarcerated

individuals' intrastate phone calls." The outcome of these lawsuits is pending.

The intrusion of this new technology, VCV, is a momentous issue. Using video-call visiting denies the significance and value of direct family contact. For the prisoner and visitor alike any ability to give a hug, an embrace, a touch to a family member is removed. Having VCV as the only visit option, for which the prisoner must pay, adds insult to injury as most offenders have little money.

There is no moral justification for excluding personal contact visits unless security is at risk. This technology, because of contractual obligations, automatically turns regular visits into closed visits where no physical contact is possible and visitors cannot even observe the prisoner directly.

The Dallas Observer of 26 March 2015, noted "the Denton County Jail ended in-person visitation on January 31, replacing it with 'Securus Technologies' video-chats." The newest technology of exclusion, VCV, completely denies the human rights of prisoners to meet with their families. The only benefit derived from this is a mercenary gain for the provider. As long as a prisoner or visitor has funds available for the VCV indirect contact may be made.

The Correctional staff at these facilities have almost no hand in managing visits as they are all done remotely. There are however, some potential positive aspects for use of this technology. For the visitor, the costs and time of travel to a facility are avoided. The convenience of being able to call an offender more frequently might be of benefit to family members, and to children in particular, if cost is not prohibitive. The ability to contact an offender may be easier, since video-calls may be booked remotely by computer and are therefore not dependent upon any actions by corrections officers. The development of social media and other video-conferencing technologies, with accompanying social/cultural attitudinal changes in the public domain, may perhaps influence the need for in-person visits without the stress of being screened. Some contemporary visitors may therefore be amenable to having more contact via social media. Cell or mobile phone technology with its video-chat capacities may, for some visitors, resolve the stressful component of having a relative 'on the inside' by providing easier access, should the corrections authorities permit this.

Present governments of the UK and CDA have not yet (2017) considered replacing person-to- person visits with this modern technology even though there would potentially be cost savings for the terms of man-hours and fewer security concerns. Research needs to be done to evaluate the positive or negative effects of VCV upon visitors and offenders and the efficacy of removing direct visits. Theoretically the security of prisons would be increased with VCV. The question remains however, whether or not the volume of drugs getting inside correctional facilities will be reduced, since it is already known that visitors are not the major source of drugs in prison (Cavendish, 2017; Godfrey, 2011; Washington Times, 2010).

On the face of it, VCV would appear to negate the positive impact of family contact for offenders and it has the potential to damage family and other relationships for visitors by removal of direct interaction between family members.

How Western society arrived at the point where there is a need to expedite visits in order to be able to retain some degree of contact with visitors is one of the consequences of penal policy. Policy designed to use punishment rather than other options, for example, restorative justice or community service, which results in greater numbers of incarcerated offenders.

Punishment has passed through phases with differing priorities including the deliberate infliction of pain, the imposition of solitude for penitence, trades training for reformation, diagnosis for treatment through medical and behavioural science, and latterly the simple 'warehousing' of felons for terms that may be indeterminate (Tonry, 1999, pp.1-4; Robertson, 1997, p.1014). The purpose of imprisonment has had more than one focus over time. This focus has varied depending not only upon societal beliefs but also upon political ideologies reflecting the dominant views of society.

The separation of a person from family and friends, has always been considered as a punishment in itself, although some think that prison is too "soft" as punishment and would prefer that a person go to prison for punishment. It is worth noting that not all offenders are incarcerated. Many serve sentences within their home communities performing required community service reparations as part of Restorative Justice programmes, which have been part of many cultural practices for centuries. The history of and the arguments for and against Restorative Justice are carefully examined by John Braithwaite in his paper of 1999, *Restorative Justice: Assessing Optimistic and Pessimistic Accounts*.

At the beginning of the 21st century the emphasis had become the containment of danger, the identification and management of any kind of risk: security of the public had become the dominant theme of penal policy (Garland, 2001, p.12). Visitors to prison are judged eligible for visits based on the kind of risk posed to prisoners or even by them and the type of visit sought, for example, an open or closed visit. Since the late 1990's potential visitors are screened through the Canadian Police Information Centre.

The Ministry of Justice's *Transforming Rehabilitation* (2013) document contracted 70% of core probation work (relating to low/medium risk offenders, about 230,000 people) to other providers in the third/ private sector where recidivism rates were again used a measure of success (Guilfoyle, 2014, p.39) and upon this basis, companies were paid. This creates issues related to how success is measured and has the potential to become a bureaucratic nightmare if evaluation procedures are not clear. It could induce practices within third party companies that suit the system of evaluation rather than suiting the legitimate needs of offenders which are aimed at encouraging life and reintegration skills.

In CDA, there are more than 130,000 potential prison visitors each year and the majority of those visits take place as planned (Access to Information, 2014). Approximately 32,000 of them do not. Those denied visits are related to a variety of concerns, most often to the IMS detection of prohibited drugs and false-positive readings of these devices.

The tension between security screening processes and the need for visitors to see their relatives becomes evident when, in the opinion of the visitor, they are denied access for no apparent good reason. Visitors do not see themselves as a threat to the security of others, and many resent being denied access to their family.

Prisons were and are supposed to protect the public from serious criminals, deter people from committing crime, rehabilitate offenders (Wright, 2008, pp.26-27), and at the same time, according to Honderich (2005, p.15), punish through causing distress to the offender. This distress is also inflicted, albeit indirectly, upon the relatives and family who, for the most part, wish to maintain their relationships. Their relatives face many challenges related to finances, loss of income, parenting concerns, social relationships, loss of physical contact, feelings of shame and loss of emotional support. All of these factors, whether stressful or not, are related directly to the significant role of the family and friendships in the lives of offenders and prison visitors. The family is, however, the one bond that is undermined by the prison system from the moment a person is pronounced guilty.

Undermining the importance of the family is not a deliberate focus of the prison staff but there appears to be a significant lack of awareness on their part about how TE damage family relationships. In spite of the public statements on official prison websites, where the importance of family contact is held to be respected and valued, in practice the family and family ties do not appear to be regarded as significant. Although not overtly stated or expressed, families appear to be perceived as guilty by association with an offender. This guilt by association creates stress in all areas of family life. It changes perceptions of relationships. It is a very sensitive issue that required careful consideration of methodological issues when undertaking this research. For example, family members who are shamed by their relatives' crimes suffer from stress and grief and often will not speak out about their situation, especially with strangers where there is no established trust relationship. This is one of the reasons that may be attributed to the difficulty in finding participants for this research. Most prison visitors experience deep emotional turmoil; their mental health is impacted through the loss of a loved person and ongoing concern over the relative's safety, as indicated on the ALERT Mental Wellness Assessment Scale (Hannem, 2015, p.5).

This Canadian national study included relatives of prisoners, people of different race and gender, social and cultural groups, urban and rural residents. The aim was to determine the mental impact as a family member turns to crime, evaluating mental health status when their family member was incarcerated and following ongoing

issues to determine if stressors lead to crime or criminogenic factors for the family members, for example drug and alcohol abuse. The results indicated moderate and severe stress is experienced by 41% and 25% of respondents respectively.

Concern for the well-being of family members is a priority, not exceeded by any other, as indicated in thousands, of descriptive phrases that cite the family and family boundaries as the prime relationship within which individuals belong (Parkes, Stevenson-Hinde & Marris, 2006, p.78; Cunningham-Burley and McKie, 2006, p.78; Cheal, 2008, pp. 15-23; Bernardes, 2008, p.138).

Many texts are replete with examples showing there are few relationships more important, enduring, powerful, and central to people's well-being than their family. Family therefore plays a very significant role in the lives of most, if not all, people. Often the nuclear family is defined as,

... a social group characterized by common residence, economic cooperation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship and one or more children, own or adopted of the sexually cohabiting adults. (Georgas, Mylonas, Bafiti, Poortinga, Christakopoulou, Cagitsibasi, 2001, p.290).

The concept of the nuclear family retains a substantive nature that all other family structures tend to be defined with reference to it (Muncie and Sapsford, 1995, p.10, even as it is being redefined. A report of the Research Centre on Micro-Social Change agrees that the most important events in people's lives are those involving family (Scott & Perren, 1994, p. 263), and Widmer (2010, p.18), states that there is "no other concept that carries the very idea of strong intimate interdependencies, negative and positive, in some respects chosen, in other respects enforced, with significant consequences in the long run".

Family relationships include partners, spouses, parents, children, siblings and friends. Often defined by blood and genetic relationships or institutionalized ceremonies such as marriage, families are considered to be "the bricks and mortar of society" (Flora, 2011, p.9). Parkes et al (2006, p.38), suggest that major importance should be given to "long- lasting interpersonal relationships involving affectional bonds". These bonds include attachments of children to parents, parents to child, bonds with other kin, sexual partnerships and friends.

Ainsworth (1991, p.37), states that affectional bonds are relationships in which the partner is an important individual who provides security and comfort and is interchangeable with no other. Attachments held by visitors with their incarcerated relatives and friends are no different. The emotional well-being of family members is sustained through interaction with other family members, and there is therefore a strong need to continue those links when family members are apart. In affectional bonds "there is a need to maintain proximity, distress by inexplicable separation, pleasure or joy upon reunion, and grief at loss" as noted by Ainsworth (1991, p.38).



In the light of societal changes over the past fifty years, family may be much less a traditional nuclear family than it is a picture of a family configuration based on a variety of accepted modern norms. There are dual earner, single parent, adoptive and step-families, living-apart couples, same-sex partnerships, divorce and remarriage families and a variety of sub-sets, with or without resident children and with close friends all considered to be part of the family configuration with its many interdependent roles (Widmer, 2016, p.4).

The idea of making close attachments with others remains central to the well-being of the individuals who form the group, whether or not the group is formally acknowledged by society, distress by inexplicable separation, pleasure or joy upon reunion, and grief at loss” as noted by Ainsworth (1991, p.38).

It is a contemporary reality that definitions of the social construct of family are still changing. For example, Aerts (1993, cited in Arts 2004, p.169) emphasizes that one important institutional and social change in the Western world is the almost complete break between marriage and family formation. In the books *Family Communications* (Flora, 2011) and *Family Configurations* (Widmer, 2010), and in the article *Cohabitation in Germany, Rules Reality and Public Discourses* (Ostler, 2001, pp.88-101), the authors clearly recognise changes in family structure and marriage while emphasizing the very high significance of family in the lives of people (Daly, 2005, pp.384-385).

Perhaps the decline in the influence of religious beliefs has led to different social behaviours, but marriage is no longer a necessary socially sanctioned prerequisite for child-bearing. This fact, coupled with the acknowledgement that womens’ roles have now changed, has altered family dynamics. Under various Western-world court rulings, men no longer have the institutional or legal power to control the lives of partners, spouses or mothers. The number of children and the timing of births can now be controlled through contraception and abortion. The significant number of women in the labour market coupled with the financial resource which that gives to these women grants them the independence and liberty to freely choose their spouses or leave an unsatisfactory relationship. The pressure or concern for financial loss that often used to be a barrier to such decisions has been removed. Significantly this has not altered the fundamental idea of family, which remains highly valued, according to Samuel(2011, p.353).

## Family and Friendship Ties that Bind: The Significance of Family Ties

Family ties of incarcerated people are central to this research. All people have a family and whatever the structure of the family, there are significant cultural and emotional ties within that family. There are also many cultural differences between families, just as there are many different ways in which families respond to life events such as separation. This chapter examines factors that relate to the separation of visitors from their incarcerated relatives or friends. There are references to the modern definition of family, the benefits of family relationships, the significance of loss, and some of the known issues related to prison visits and how potential visitors are treated. How justice policies impact upon the incarcerated and their families is also explored. The procedures involved with using TE cause visitors emotional harm which can result in trauma associated with each subsequent visit.

Incarceration of a relative produces many consequences for a wide group of people including family members, friends, associations, clubs, business partners and employers. This research is limited to the impact upon family and friends who may suffer from a variety of feelings which include loss of contact (Harvey, 2002, cited by Arditti, 2012, p.102), loss of comfort and affection (Arditti, 2012, p.97), loss of income, loss of support when dealing with family matters, possible loss of status within a community, and feelings of shame (Kelter, 1998, p.78; Condry, 2007, pp. 62-65). There is also the possibility of feeling humiliation because incarceration carries a stigma that other kinds of family separation do not (Crewe, 2012, p.75; Riggins, 2011, p.176; Arditti, 2012, p.106; Scott & Codd, 2010, p.145; Condry, 2007, p.63; Gilbert, 1998, p.10). This wide variety of feelings, described above, are associated with being a victim, V2, being guilty by association or feeling that as a visitor one is a “quasi-prisoner”. They create a traumatic experience for the visitor.

According to Condry (2007, p.89), [worthy of note, but not part of this study], experiencing stigmatization is not necessarily felt the same way by men, women or children. Braman (2007, p.8), states that “... it is not only criminal offenders who bear the burdens of stigma but a host of non-offenders as well. The broad impact of this stigma can make minefields of family members’ relationships with relatives, neighbours, and co-workers.” Experiencing stigma damages confidence levels of an individual and disturbs the emotional health of people. Shame is not an uncommon feeling for visitors. It is one of the factors that this research has found; V2 state that they have experienced feeling ashamed when asked questions about their incarcerated relatives.

The literature about families indicates that family ties are very significant factors in the emotional health of most people for security and comfort (Ainsworth, 1991, p.38). It is not unreasonable to suggest that offenders anticipate having their family and friends visit for comfort and confirmation of relationships, as this may be the only direct contact each may have with a person who is not imposed upon their life.

All other contacts are imposed; the prison staff and fellow offenders are not chosen associates, and there is little or no say for any offender about who occupies the same living space, especially with overcrowding of prisons (Berman, 2013, p.11). Even food choices are restricted because of the religious norms of a minority of offenders. This applies across Canada (informer interview, 2014). As an example, pork is not allowed on some ranges, i.e., living quarters, when there are Muslim or Jewish offenders on the range. An offender may not obtain food from another range and food choices are therefore restricted at these times.

Although justified by law, imprisonment separates families in a manner that is, on the face of it, nothing less than brutal. It is, unfortunately, considered normal to expect that the ties that bind family and friends are strained when an individual is sentenced. Incarceration separates families through time and distance by placing offenders into facilities far away from their residences. The effect of this can tear apart any family and should not be underestimated. Separation from a child, spouse, or parent is difficult to endure. It is known to bring about periods of anxiety and stress which may become evident through depression, frustration, grief and worry, sadness and abandonment (Quinodoz, 1993, p.4).

The Commission of the European Communities report (1993, p. 60, cited by Bernardes, 1997), shows that 96% of the European Union population indicate clearly that the single most valued aspect of life is family living. In a Gallup poll from October 2000, cited by Uchino (2004, p.1), the presence of a spouse in the daily life of individuals was recorded as “having one of the strongest influences on happiness.”

Prisoners’ families are drawn within the reach of the criminal justice system and must manage a range of difficulties, yet their needs are demonstrably absent from the focus of criminal justice – they are at best perceived as contributing to a prisoner’s welfare or rehabilitation, [and are] often just constructed as posing a threat to prison security that needs to be managed, and rarely seen as having their own support needs (Crewe, 2012, p.74).

This research is focused upon altering the perception of prison visits described by Crewe (2012), It aims to encourage a different view of how prisoners' families should be treated as it demonstrates the benefits of prioritising the role of family visits.

Considering the traditional and perhaps typical view of a prisoner’s family, as described by Paylor and Smith, (1994, pp.131-4), separation through incarceration is commonly thought of as a male leaving a female partner to deal with the children and family matters. In this family, the parents are moderately young, in a heterosexual relationship and the children are not yet teenagers. Family life is, however, much more complex than this.

On occasion ‘de facto’ parenting for some children becomes more important than biological parenting. For example, the mother’s boyfriend is on scene and more of a day-to-day parent than the child’s biological father (Scott & Codd, 2010, p.146). Also, the impact on parents, siblings and significant friendships beyond traditional bonds of kin and family of those imprisoned, is often neglected (Meek, 2008, p.266).

Prisoners may have multiple significant relationships through a network of connections and although the family plays an important part, these other relationships may have equal or more significance. This aligns with the view of Bourdieu (1996, p.23), who states that, "There is now greater recognition that any conceptualisation of the family will be porous but also limited, as families contribute to, and are influenced by the wider world." Braman (2007, p.221), states that "the ability to be of use to one another is what gives rise to the normative world people live in, providing not only material sustenance but also identity and a sense of what matters most." These intimate, caring bonds and their useful presence within a family are the relationships that prisons remove or damage through incarceration (Genty, 2002, p.1671; Salmon, 2007, cited by Codd, 2013, p.48).

Family living brings other beneficial influences, as indicated by Berkman and Syme (1979, p.186, p.200), "people with social ties and relationships had lower mortality rates than people without such ties." In Uchino's study (2004, p.13), it was concluded that people with multiple social ties have healthier lives, while acknowledging that some ties might not be helpful in promoting health.

Studies focused upon emotional health by Berkman and Syme (1979), and Uchino (2004), support the argument that contact with visitors has a significant positive health impact upon offenders and therefore visits from friends and family should be encouraged rather than restricted. Human social existence places family living as the central act on the stage of life, according to Bernardes (1997, p.155) who suggests that we need to do everything in our power to put families first.

Components of a visit to prison are not all beneficial for the visitor as some concerns are often overlooked by prison officials, for example, the cost of visiting. There are other visit-related difficulties in the book "*Prisoner*", where it is observed that, the incarceration of a family member creates a series of ongoing crisis points that will vary from family to family (Fishman, 1990 p.6). In his book "*Women at the Wall: Prisoners' Wives Doing Time on the Outside*", the family, has to deal with a sense of powerlessness and helplessness.

### The Privilege of Visiting

V2 continue to be subject to contact restrictions which indicate that family contacts are considered to be a privilege, not a right. V2 have to ask permission to meet with their relatives [UK Visiting Order and Visit Approval Application, CDA] and have no control over this process. That creates a sense of powerlessness and frustration. V2 are constantly reminded of their insignificant status through the control actions of institutions. As an example, in California the signs outside San Quentin clearly state this to be the case: "Officially, it is 'a privilege,' that is, not a legal right, for inmates to have personal visits while confined in California Department of Corrections institutions and facilities" (California Department of Corrections 1999, cited by Comfort, 2008, p.230). The 'privilege of visiting' is the usual manner in which visits are described in the USA (FBOP, 2013, p.5). In some institutions prisoners earn points in order to facilitate more visit time.

Ultimately, declaring visits to be a privilege and not a right is another way in which control by the prison authorities is seen to be absolute. In the UK and CDA, visiting is a privilege. The influence of family members is believed to enhance the positive outcome of rehabilitation according to Scott and Codd (2010, p. 144) and also by Woolf and Tumim (1991, cited in Ford, 2010, p.156), who observed that: "There is every reason to believe that the nature of a prisoner's relationship with his or her family will be an important factor in determining whether he or she will succeed in leading a useful and law-abiding life on return to the community".

The significance of this family relationship is emphasized by the large number of studies contained in the literature (Klein, 1977, pp.472-474; Naser, 2006, p.101; Bales, 2008, p.32; Crewe, 2012, pp.74, 139, 212; Hairston, 1991, p.91; Schafer (1994, cited by Kupers, 2012, p.10).

Martin Narey, former Director General of HM Prison Service (1998-2003) agrees. He stated to the *Partners in Prevention Conference* of 2001, that "A stable, supportive family throughout the sentence is a key factor in preventing re-offending on release I firmly believe that we should do as much as possible to sustain family relationships at what for many will be an especially traumatic time in their lives" (Sherlock, 2004, p.11).

Studies by Holt and Miller (1972, p.1), found that inmates who maintained frequent outside contacts did significantly better on parole. Family visits are still considered to be an important part of the rehabilitative approach in CDA, the UK and the USA. The rehabilitative model endures in CDA even though control and security aspects have increased greatly in response to changing social conditions. Despite all evidence that clearly emphasizes the need for family contact, contemporary prison security policy related to visits and how visitors are treated, remains detrimental to sustaining these relationships.

The separation of an offender from his or her family has impacts that need to be mentioned in order to complete the picture of this very trying period for visitors and offenders. The value of family ties is described by Braman (2007, p.38), who states that the norms related to kinship are the strongest in any culture because they structure life in essential ways for the emotional well-being and moral meaning of people's lives. Family members usually copy the normative reciprocal relationships that are found within their society. However, the positive influence of these family links that bind societal norms and relationships is removed upon incarceration, according to Paylor & Smith (1994). Sustaining relationships is difficult; two-fifths of UK prisoners lose contact with their family while in prison (SEU, 2002, p.7). Affectional bonds get broken or disturbed (Ainsworth, 1991, p.34; Marris, 1993, pp.80-81), and divorce is a common event for imprisoned women (Dodge & Pogrebin, 2001, p.43).

For some small number of prisoners however, it may be said that they do not want their family to see them in prison; they would rather serve their time and sever ties during their sentences (Scott & Codd, 2010, p.145), and in some cases the family may suffer considerably from the maintenance of these ties (Arditti, 2003, cited by Christian 2006, p.445).

Sometimes the absence of an offender from the family may be a welcome event which brings positive relief which alleviates strain over domestic issues. The literature shows that there are some strains, for example, such as bullying, abuse, chaotic lifestyle habits, drug taking, mental health issues and even financial problems which may be reprieved for the remaining free family members (Crewe, 2012, p.76). In this situation, the unpredictability of family life and the stress which that causes may be stabilized. Incarceration of one family member could be the only opportunity through which the free family can regain some degree of control, according to Comfort (2008, p.195; Codd & Scott, 2010, p.147).

Christian (2006, p.443), states that: "From the prisoner's standpoint, there are clear benefits to maintaining family contacts such as emotional support; bonding with children, parents, or significant others; and receiving material goods such as money for commissary and packages". Those benefits are also associated with concerns often borne by the family. Maintaining a relationship with an offender, is shown to include dealing with high costs of transport, the distance of prisons, the trouble of navigating the prison administration and just getting into prisons for visits (Salmon, 2007, cited by Arditti (2003, p.201), found that visits to jails caused a great deal of distress in contrast with the finding that there are often problems directly attributed to the absence of the incarcerated individual (Braman & Wood, 2003, cited by Travis & Waul, 2003, Ch.5; Fishman, 1990, pp. 190-195), for example, getting repairs done around the house, maintaining the garden, solving financial issues and relationship concerns, helping with the children and many other daily routines that have been disrupted by incarceration.

Briar-Lawson (2010, p.51), states that "Families are comprehensive service, resource, and support systems. They continuously care for, and work on the behalf of, their members", and as such support their community, as described by Covey, "... the family becomes the vehicle through which people can effectively contribute to the well-being of others" (Covey, 1997, cited by Vargas, 2008, p.7).

However, it would appear that the family is not, in fact, respected as a social unit if one examines the Regulations and Directives that apply to CSC. No provision is made for consideration of the personal situation of an offender's family. Once the judge's gavel has dropped and sentence is pronounced, there is a distinction made. During trial and parole hearings the Courts are keen to consider all sorts of input from witnesses, witness impact statements, agents for the prosecution or the defence. There is nothing in Canadian law that obliges the Courts to take responsibility for how an offender is treated once the offender is turned over to the CSC. "There is no other government activity in a democratic society that entails as much power over individual citizens' freedom as prison", according to Jackson (2010, p.2), a power that is a continuation, in another form, of "*The Culture of Control*" so well described by Garland (2001).

These observations raise the question as to why any Corrections system would have policies that limit contact between people. Although the prison setting is unique because it secures offenders apart from society, it also provides an environment in

which an offender could end up spending large amounts of time locked up alone or with complete strangers, whom the offender might prefer not to know.

Perhaps the imposition of forced loneliness or limited contact between people is considered by CSC as a means of deterrence or additional punishment for contravening prison rules. Limiting contact also applies to visitors who, in some cases, are made to feel that they are treated like offenders when they attend a facility.

### Acquiring the label of “Quasi-Prisoner”

When families visit a prison, too often they are not treated well by prison staff, but are treated as “quasi-prisoners” (Codd, 2008, p.59), victims of procedures over which they have no control. In some cases, they are left to queue for a long time, sometimes outside with no shelter regardless of the weather, which is unfair, inhospitable treatment.

For potential visitors, it is almost as though those who watch those ‘serving time’ have completely lost their own sense of time; visitors can wait. There appears to be an assumption, made by some CSC staff, that families are guilty by association and are therefore not worthy of courtesy, consideration or respect and are perhaps just another burden upon the task of maintaining security. “Many individuals believe that inmates deserve to be locked up and even that their families are somehow culpable” according to Sturges (1998, cited by Martin, 2001, p.7).

Goffman (1963, cited by Comfort, 2003, p.79), observed that “People who temporarily enter prisons to visit their spouses, romantic partners, kith and kin, detained therein constitute a peculiar category of ‘prisoner’. Not convicted felons, but not beyond the suspicion of authorities or the taint of “courtesy stigma”.

Sturges (1999, cited by Arditti, 2003, p. 116), states that “visitors feel a sense of degradation and stigmatization when visiting due to their association with the inmate.” Very similar observations come from Australia where “There seems to be a very strong assumption within Corrective Services that anyone who wants to visit a prisoner is likely to be a criminal or drug smuggler” (Standing Committee on Law and Justice 1999, p.148).

Broadhead (2002, p.2) remarks that visits are a source of particular dissatisfaction for visitors: many family members report unhelpful prison staff, poor facilities, lack of information, and a general feeling of being unwelcome, or being viewed as somehow ‘guilty by association’. This is well described in the article by Megan Comfort entitled *In the Tube at San Quentin* (2003, p.80), where the clash between the legally “free” visitors and the imposition of ‘quasi-prisoner’ status is an ongoing issue. Comfort’s article (2003, p.101), focused upon the female visitors at San Quentin and suggests, that prison visitation regulations and the negative treatment from correctional staff are central experiential factors leading to the “secondary prisonisation of kith and kin”.

Most official websites from prison authorities espouse family relationships and their value (CSC; HMPs; Department of Correctional Services (DCS) South Australia; DCS Western Australia; Federal Correctional Institutions, USA).

The actual practice of respecting family relationships is not commensurate with the official web- site policy statements. First time visitors may expect respect and welcome at the entrance to a prison, but there is a transformation that takes place. The transformation of relationships is a legitimate concern for visitors. One moment a person is a citizen who wishes to visit a prison. The next moment, as soon as he or she steps onto prison property, they become a quasi-prisoner subject to the effect of regulations and restrictions which fall upon all visitors including minor children.

Child punishment is often the other side of the coin to parental imprisonment. "This is a shadowy corner of the criminal justice system seldom spotlighted. In our society, prisoners are marginalised; their spouses and adult friends isolated and hidden; while their children to all intents and purposes are invisible", according to Hounslow (1982, cited by Cunningham, 2001, pp.35-36). For children, having an incarcerated parent is strongly associated with emotional and behavioural disturbances such as anxiety, depression and aggressiveness. Murray and Farrington (2008, p.135), concluded that parental imprisonment is a strong risk and possibly a primary causal factor for school failure, antisocial behaviour, mental health problems, offending, drug abuse and unemployment, all of which are adverse outcomes for children and youth (Kampfner, 1995, cited in Johnston and Gabel, 1995, p. 83).

Family support needs are described by The Commission on Social Justice (1994, p.311), "Families are the first social institutions children know and the means by which they are introduced to all the others". Genty (2002, p.1671), makes the obvious but poignant statement: "Unlike other collateral consequences, family separation has an irreversible impact upon both parents and children. The time apart is lost forever, because a childhood can never be recovered."

Separation problems are often far worse for female offenders who are dependent upon family and friends as the primary caretakers of their children (Casey-Acevedo & Bakken, 2002, p. 69). Almost all Western countries, including CDA, the UK, and the USA, maintain records from which one may determine some disturbing facts. The Ministry of Justice in the UK (2009), reported that there were 200,000 children affected by imprisonment. Of these 17,700 children were separated from their mothers. Approximately one third of women offenders leave behind children under the age of 10 years (Prison Reform Trust, 2009), and even more children were impacted by parental imprisonment than by divorces in that year (ONS, 2011).



By comparison, USA surveys of prison inmates show that 55% of State and 63% of Federal prison inmates have children under age 18 (Bureau of Justice, 2000). It is difficult to directly compare UK and USA figures because they were gathered in differing data collection styles. The figures are an indictment of the incarceration process that breaks families apart and makes childhood a very disruptive emotional experience (Murray & Farrington, 2008, p.135).

Imprisonment separated 17,240 children from their mothers through imprisonment in 2010 in the UK (Prison Reform Trust Briefing, 2012, p.3). In Canada, the comparable figure is 25,000 children, according to Cunningham and Baker (Voices for Children, 2004, p.1). During 2007 (USA), 147,400 children had a mother in prison according to Glaze (2008, p.1), and 63% of federal inmates had minor children at home, an estimated 1,706,600 children (Glaze & Maruschak, 2007, p.1).

These figures are most likely all too low, based upon current increasing incarceration rates. They raise a question about how children cope with the impact of having a mother, incarcerated. Joyce Arditti gives insight into the multiple issues raised by this in *Parental Incarceration and the Family: Psychological and Social Effects of Imprisonment on Children, Parents, and Caregivers* (2012, p.97), where she describes “profound emotional, economic and social effects upon the family”, one of which is the significant impact upon children that restricts visits, especially for the very young as it constantly makes a parent unavailable to give comfort, answer questions or just to be there. Neil Bernstein (2007) in his book *All Alone in the world: Children of the Incarcerated*, carefully describes the difficulties experienced by a young girl after her father was imprisoned. He describes the frustrations of grandparents taking children to prison for a visit and the domestic turmoil left behind after incarceration takes place. It is a period that is filled with bureaucratic and emotional concerns which, in spite of visiting being the right thing to do, the emotional turmoil does not encourage relatives or family to visit. Research has shown that strong family ties have been linked to a decreased risk of suicide and self-harm. It also shows an increased likelihood of successful community re-entry and desistance from offending, yet for many families maintaining relationships with prisoners is not easy (Codd, 2013, p.50; Social Exclusion Unit, 2002; Arditti, 2012, p.86; Codd and Scott, 2010, pp.146-147). Maintaining relationships with children is also an area of difficulty for prisoners, since minor children have to be accompanied when they visit. Visitors state that they visit “for the sake of the children” (Q19) who are also upset, possibly traumatised, through loss of contact with their parents.

The traditional purpose of a prison sentence is to punish offenders, not their family and children. Studies assessing the impact of parental incarceration have found that children exhibited a number of emotional and behavioural reactions, including ongoing sadness, fearfulness, withdrawal, difficulty in relationships with peers and adults, and feelings of anger and shame. Recent research has found that some of these children are at greater risk of having depression and conduct disorders than are their peers. Hyperactivity and other conduct disorders have also been observed (Siegel, 2011, p.6).

There is an ongoing concern that children will become involved in criminal activity as parental criminality is known to lead to deviant behaviours in some children, although there is no clearly defined, understood causal mechanism (Murray et al, 2009, cited by Siegel, 2011, p.7; Murray, 2007, p.56; Reed and Reed, 1997, p.59).

The disruption of family life associated with the imprisonment of a parent brings with it many possible changes, i.e., a transformation in the values, attitudes and behaviours promoted in the child, which will likely be a very negative experience and which may, in turn, potentially increase the probability of the child offending later in life. Official policies that restrict visits are not helpful, especially for young children who need the reassurance and comfort of knowing that their relative is available and safe. It is a very difficult problem, for which there appears to be no immediate satisfactory solution.

Balancing the need for security and incarceration of offenders against the emotional needs of the family is one of the most difficult problems facing the contemporary prison system. Perhaps it is this almost insurmountable issue that causes a perceived entrenchment into the use of regulations and the paraphernalia of TE, where there is, at least, some stability to be found for prison staff in their routines related to official policies.

#### Official Policy for Visits

Hairston (1991, p.88), sums up the widely accepted view about the significance of family contact, "Family ties during imprisonment serve three important functions including the maintenance of the family unit, the enhancement of the well-being of individual family members, and the facilitation of the prisoner's post-release success." There are many sources which have clearly shown that it is considered important to maintain the relationships that prisoners have with their family and friends (Broadhead, 2002, pp.255-263; Brooks-Gordon, 2004, pp.263-280; Codd, 2008, pp.22-23; Paylor & Smith, 1994, pp.131-144).

TE deny visitor contacts with offenders, even though CSC is aware of false-positive indications from IMS devices. It is significant that there is little in the literature about the impact of visits upon offender's in-prison behaviours, beyond the idea that visits enhance the likelihood of positive reintegration (Siennick, Mears & Bales, 2013, p.418).

Visits, in the USA, are used to manage offenders; 'good' or 'poor' behaviours limit visit possibilities, for example, in Florida, disciplinary actions are mandated in regulations (Fla. Admin. Code R 33-601.731, 33-602.222, cited by Siennick et al, 2013, p.421). In CDA, visits are not recorded as causing offenders to react in extreme or violent ways. Visits are not noted as being disruptive to the normal routines of prison.

One might conclude, therefore, that visits cause few, if any, impediments to the daily life of a prison facility. Within official documents one may find statements about the significance of visits and family relationships, for example, on the CSC website (2016) it clearly stated: 'Developing and maintaining family and community ties throughout an offender's sentence is a vital step in ensuring an offender's successful reintegration back into the community.'

CSC offers services such as private family visiting (PFV), which helps offenders keep in touch with their loved ones (CSC, 2016). CSC allows PFV of 72 hours duration, once every two months for established family relationships, subject to security and screening measures.

The family members are housed in moderately equipped small cottages. They cook for themselves and are able to have private time together. The number of cottages at any one site is limited to five or six, and they are reserved about two months prior to the visit. On the HMPS website, similar statements appear: "A number of publications, including the Report of the Social Exclusion Unit (2002); Transforming Rehabilitation (2013) and Research Findings on Resettlement Outcomes (Home Office, 2005), have reiterated the important role of supportive family ties in preventing re-offending. This has, in turn, led to increased official recognition of the value of supporting the family ties of prisoners" (Codd, 2007, p.225). In addition, the applicable Prison Rule 4 in the UK states that: "Special attention should be paid to maintaining contacts between prisoners and their families, and that a prisoner should be 'encouraged' to develop contacts with the outside world which best promote the interests of his family and his own social rehabilitation", as noted by Brooks-Gordon (2004, p. 263).

Examination of published policies shows that the bureaucratic nature of prison administration is a very serious impediment to enabling offenders to develop contacts with the outside world. Offenders are not allowed to have phone numbers of commercial interests on their approved lists. From a security viewpoint, this does make sense as some offenders would abuse the privilege. The possibility that an offender might intimidate or verbally abuse somebody, must be balanced with the genuine needs of trying to have an offender reintegrate into society. It is yet another difficult question which the prison system has to resolve.

If, for example, an offender wanted to become a bricklayer, there are many administrative steps to pass through before any course could be arranged. It would appear to be unkind to describe CSC staff as being afflicted with an institutional 'bureaucratic mentality' that has only one slow gear, but examples are not difficult to find which clearly demonstrate this to be the case. As an example, at one institution an application for an Escorted Temporary Absence (ETA), from a minimum-security facility, to go to Church took 15 months to get approved. Confusion, over which level of authority should sign the paperwork (Warden or Parole Board?), was the reason for the delay. Such delays are disheartening and do not encourage any offender to "develop contacts with the outside world which best promote the interests of his family and his own social rehabilitation" as noted above.

As this example is not unusual it strongly suggests that staff behaviours have a serious detrimental effect upon implementation of policies. There appears to be a prison officer culture that impinges upon routine requests. This research has found several examples where 'ordinary' paperwork transactions take months to accomplish. Sentences served within CDA or the UK reduce the possibility of contact between offenders and visitors to the telephone, the written letter or pre-arranged visits. None of these contacts remain private except for those made by lawyers in a client relationship with an offender. Loss of privacy may be the price that goes with loss of freedom, but this creates an ongoing tension between the rights of the free visitor and the restrictions placed upon the offender who has lost his/her freedom. Prison staff listen to phone calls and have microphones in visit rooms. They also screen letters. Telephone contacts must be made known to corrections authorities by the prisoner before calls are made which serves the purpose of protecting the prisoner and free citizens from harassment or intimidation, even though it may be perceived by family members as inconvenient and as one more restriction upon a relative's life. It is another way in which control over offender activity is manifest and through which the visitor is left feeling out of control.

In Canada, all visits must be made by appointment at least twenty-four (24), hours ahead and visiting days are restricted, e.g., Friday, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, and this varies with each institution. Visits may be cancelled without notice due to 'lock-downs' or administrative or security issues. It is not unusual for families to be turned away when a 'lock-down' is initiated owing to threat, riot or fire. 'Lock-downs' require all prisoners to return to their accommodations while a security evaluation is conducted. Although a 'lock-down' is a normal part of the security procedures, it should be possible, except in times of an urgent crisis, to notify potential visitors of such situations, as visitor contact information is part of a visit application. 'Lock-downs' are not part of the TE, however, such experiences can further discourage future visits.

### The Decline of Visits

Prison visits by family are often fraught with difficulty related to location, transport or (for children) accompaniment, booking visits, finances and prison restrictions (participant interviews, 2015). Visits are recorded as Social or Official. Social visits are made by family, whereas 'Official visits' are those made by legal advisors and are not as restricted.

In the UK, social visits are one-hour long. A convicted person is allowed only two sixty-minute visits every four weeks (Gov. UK, 2016). It may be in spite of or, perhaps, because of the inmate population rising each year to record levels, that the number of domestic social visitors has dropped.

From 1999-2002, the proportion of visits dropped by up to 50% (Burnside, 2003, p.11), and further, "... the decline is even worse -- while the Chief Inspector's Report on HMP Holloway, a prison holding 490 women, found that 37 per cent got no visits at all" (Prisons, 2013).

In the UK, austerity measures of the early 2000s, prison closures and the loss of prison staff created systemic difficulties that negatively impacted the possibility for prison visits to take place in a 'normal' manner. The broad impact, of political decisions, upon the prison system in particular, has been acknowledged and re-hiring of prison officers has now been undertaken in addition to a new training scheme for prison officers initiated by Justice Secretary Lizz Truss (Express, 2016).

In an American study, Casey-Acevedo and Bakken (2001, cited by Tewksbury, 2012, p.43), reported that more than 60 % of women received no visits from their minor children during their incarceration. Finding a person to accompany a minor child for a prison visit is extremely difficult if no relatives are available; the parent who is incarcerated is dependent on a caretaker and the caretaker may not be willing for many reasons, including cost, distance and child behavioural issues (Arditti, 2003, pp.124-125). For some people, it is too much to bear and visits do not take place (participant information, 2015). Some research shows that up to 45% of prisoners lose contact with their family altogether and visits simply do not take place (Codd, 2013, p.48).

The decline in visits is perhaps not surprising if one looks at how visitors at many prisons are subject to what is termed a 'full rub-down'. Broadhead (2002, p 1), notes that: "this involves a prison officer peering into their hair, ears, mouth and up their nostrils, as well as rubbing his or her hands over their clothed bodies. Much more demeaning is the strip search, criticised even by the former Chief Inspector of Prisons for its unnecessary use." Broadhead (2002, p. 2), states that searching the visitor is only one of the reasons for the decline in visits. Many people dislike having to pass through metal detectors, having drug dogs sniffing about their person and seeing their loved ones forced to wear large, brightly coloured bibs.

These are additional facets of the negative concerns which Lucy Gampell (2002), former director of Action for Prisoners' Families, has described as 'an inherent prison culture' where many inmates are reluctant to put their families and friends through what is perceived as an unnecessary and humiliating ordeal. It is an ordeal that as a result of the 'system' in CDA and the UK, makes being a relative of an offender a shameful event while making the visitor feel like a prisoner. Visiting a prison, according to participants, inexplicably produces unpleasant feelings and conflicts which include resentment, shame and depression which damage the feelings of joy, hopefulness and enthusiasm for the visit and the reunion with the offender. Prison visiting is a very complex matter for all concerned and often creates stress and trauma for V2 (Bodenner, 2016).

There is no doubt that prison visits have declined in recent years, "evidence points to a decline in the overall number of prison visits" (Social Exclusion Unit, 2002, p.113) with distances and cost as two main reasons for not visiting at all (Niven & Stewart, 2005, p.6). Until 2010, prisoners at Holloway continued to receive one visiting order every 14 days in contrast to remand prisoners, who could receive 6 visiting orders for every 7 days.

Recommendations from HMIP (Prisons, 2013), suggest that prisoners should be able to have at least one visit a week, but according to Brooks-Gordon (2004, p.264), convicted prisoners are allowed one visit upon reception and only two one-hour visits per month.

The prison population growth is also bringing about more stringent enforcement in screening procedures. Overcrowding and outdated policies likely inhibit the implementation of better visiting protocols as UK prisons are crammed beyond capacity (Walmsley, 2013), and juggling visit schedules takes a much less important role than security matters as prisons become “unacceptably violent and dangerous” (HMIP, Annual Report, 2016).

### Distance Changes Relationships

One of the more obvious constraints on contact has always been the distance and inaccessibility, by public transport, of many prisons (Loucks, 2002, p.1). Unlike the prisons and asylums of the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries, new facilities are no longer established near the centre of communities. When the attitudes towards institutional tourism changed, so did the location of facilities. Correctional facilities are now often located several miles from nearby town centres and in many cases transportation is needed in order to facilitate a visit.

Larger prisons built out of town were put in place because of the economies of scale, giving the tax payer the impression that their money was carefully spent. This policy, coupled with government financial constraints, often means that correctional facilities for offenders serving long-term sentences are few in number and greater distances from offenders’ home towns and their families. Distance makes travelling not only expensive but hard to arrange. As examples, there are some cases in the USA where Hawaiian prisoners have been located on the continental USA in Kentucky, 4349 miles away.

According to Simmons (2000, p.5), for incarcerated mothers the most significant reason for lack of contact with their children is the distance of the prisons located far from major population centres. For example, the California womens’ prisons are 260 miles from Los Angeles in a remote area. This is not unlike the situation in the UK and CDA. One of the participants lives in Southern Ontario and travels 1797 miles to visit her partner in Saskatchewan. In comparison, most prisoners in the UK are 50-55 miles away from their home (Robertson, 2007, p.23, although that may not necessarily make things easier for the visitor.

The Woolf Report (1991), emphasized that whenever practicable offenders should be accommodated as near to home and community as possible, yet ten years later, 2001, according to the Prison Reform Trust, 26,000 prisoners were held over 50 miles from the town where they had been sentenced and 11,000 were more than 100 miles away (Broadhead, 2002, p.1).

In the UK, some local prisons have been closed: Dartmoor, Blundeston, Dorchester, Reading and Northallerton are closed in favour of 2000 place Titan-style super prisons, the first of which was planned to be built in Wrexham (HMP Berwyn to open in 2017, with a 2010 offender capacity), according to the article in the Guardian by Travis (2013, Jan. 10), entitled “Seven Prisons in England to Close”.

This action makes prison visiting far more difficult and detracts from maintaining family contacts. This imposes more cost upon the family, in terms of time and finance, a factor that appears not to have been considered when these decisions were made. Canada has, in 2016, 57 Federal correctional facilities from Nova Scotia to British Columbia. Travelling to these facilities for some is very difficult. Institutions for women are few and far between in Canada, e.g., Ontario has one federal prison for women and there are six across the whole country that spans 3,855,102 square miles.

The UK, by contrast has thirteen prisons for women in a geographic area that is 93,409 square miles. None the less, incarcerated women in the UK are still likely to be some distance from their families, on average 55 miles from home. Of necessity, there are many more facilities for males and distances to facilities may not be such an issue. However, visiting a female offender becomes a much bigger issue simply because of the great distances involved, especially in Canada.

This is an important concern for visitors: they have to take time off work to travel and children have to take time out of school if they wish to have more than a brief two-hour visit. Not only must the visitor bear the cost of travel, but they likely have accommodation, food and possibly child care expenses in addition, and visiting hours are inflexible. Distance is a major factor in the decline in visitors. This has, in part, led to proposals to adjust prison facilities in order to serve the prison population in a better way.

The debate is ongoing about whether or not the concept women's prison should be transformed into women's prison centres with the most suitable provision of services so that they would be better able to care for their children with provision for nursing, food and sleep arrangements for very young children. The report, *Provision for Women Offenders in The Community*, by Gelsthorpe, Sharpe and Roberts (2007), provides a very thorough evaluation of these needs.

However, the better alternative is to consider not incarcerating women but to make provision within communities for women offenders, unless restricted by conviction for major violent crime. Details of the *Corston Report* of 2007, reviewed by Goldhill (2009), clearly show that the progressive views expressed included the establishment of community centres for women, in order to achieve a modern approach for women offenders and their treatment, have not been implemented. According to Goldhill, (2009), "Many proposals were watered down by suggested partial adoption and numerous provisos."

Australia has a variety of centres focused around female offenders and their children. As an example, telephone access is viewed as an essential component of family contact, and one women's centre [Helena Jones centre] is "committed to liberally providing telephone access for inmate mothers and their families" (Farrell, 1998, p.20). This access applies to inbound and outbound calls, something not allowed in CDA or the UK.

In the USA, the distance problem has been and is still a major issue for visitors, as illustrated by this abbreviated excerpt,

“Every Friday night about 800 people, mostly women and children, almost all of them African-American or Latino, gather...and board buses for the north. The buses leave through the night and arrive in time for visiting hours on Saturday. *Operation Prison Gap*, which runs the service, was founded by an ex-convict named Ray Simmons...knew how hard it was for the families of inmates to arrange visits. The company, started in 1973, carried passengers in a single van. Now it charts thirty-five buses and vans on a typical weekend and a larger number on special occasions. Ray Simmons's brother Tyrone says that despite the rising inmate population, ridership has fallen a bit over the past few years. The inconvenience and expense of the long bus trips take their toll. One customer, however, has for fifteen years faithfully visited her son every weekend. Simmons gives her a discount, charging her the same price she paid on her first trip, in 1983 (Schlosser, 1998, pp. 51-77).

When personal resources are used by potential visitors, entry refusal at the prison door is traumatic because it brings about a loss not only of those resources but which, as noted by Codd (2008, p.25), has other impacts. “Staying connected to a prisoner at the most basic level of going on a prison visit requires resources in the form of time, money, and energy” (Braman, 2004, pp.6-7; Christian, 2005, p.45; Comfort, 2003, pp.77-107).

The refusal of a visit must be incredibly frustrating and understandably makes some people very upset and angry at a system which seems not to care: “Loss of contact with family and friends, or separation, can lead to feelings of isolation, loneliness, guilt, anger and despair.” Braman (2007, p.222), notes that incarceration disrupts or punishes obligations family members and friends have to one another.

The documented decline of trust in urban America, the UK, Canada, New Zealand, Germany and other advanced industrial democracies (Paxton, 2005, p.40; Dalton 2005 p.134), is not the result of blunt criminal sanctions, but is in part, the response to accounts of families that show us how penal sanctions can transform personal relationships at home, in schools, at work and in church. Significantly, families of prisoners go unnoticed and un-mentioned in media and public debates about ‘crime’ and punishment (Travis, 2003, p.2).

One offender, quoted in the *The Prison Journal* (2013, pp. 453-474), said,

“The DOC [Department of Corrections, USA] is tough with letting you get support from outside. It’s hard to add to [the] visiting list. They don’t respect / honour [visitors] unless, aunts, children are of a certain age. Paperwork! My stepmom couldn’t come see me. Frustrating, stressful, makes you want to give up, but I won’t!”

The reality of prison visiting is often decided by the distance factor. As stated by McGowan & Blumenthal (1978, cited by Genty, 2002, p.1680), “The practical difficulties of maintaining regular contact between parents and children separated by several hundred miles become insurmountable for many families.” More often than not, distance appears to be the major factor that leads to the decline of visits, coupled with



the visitors' lack of understanding about prison rules.

The importance of family ties is clearly documented in the literature and acknowledged by prison authorities in Canada and the UK. In spite of this official acknowledgement, prison policies and processes are employed which act as a barrier to maintaining family ties. This is, in part, due to the modern political reality of catering to the public's misinformation and myths about the prison system (Pratt, 2009, p.46). This creates tension between prison policies, focused upon security, and public perceptions that prison is a "country club", and V2 who are struggling to maintain family relationships or significant friendships. As Lenz (2002, p.500), states, the media and lawmakers, "...portray prisons as resorts in which inmates live the good life".

The dichotomy created by such positions becomes obvious when one examines the purpose and intent of confinement. Theoretically, prison is a place where offenders are held so that communities may be protected from their criminal intent or actions. In general, society does not like the cost of keeping offenders and wants the sentence carried out while the offender is prepared, trained, indoctrinated, encouraged to be reintegrated to society.

At the same time, while the society wants to maintain the concept that punishment is harsh, the tools for reintegration are not supposed to be there for use by offenders, for example, computers, televisions or other items that society perceives as 'luxury' items.

This is, in part, because some members of society may not possess those items and have a view that offenders therefore don't deserve to have them, and certainly not provided by the state at no cost to the offender. The irony of that position is that the essential tools for reintegrating offenders are those same tools which society-at-large wishes to deny offenders. It is a cause of tension, which then becomes a political concern, so far unresolved because of security concerns and the constant need for vigilance in order to protect offenders, staff and visitors.

### Prison Inspections

The UK, CDA and the USA have inspection obligations arising from their status as a party to the Optional Protocol to the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment. HM Prisons are inspected according to protocols for inspections which are clearly laid out in the Inspection Framework document published by HMPS (2016, 2016b) derived from HM Chief Inspector of Prisons' legislative powers and duties. Similar documents exist in CDA and the USA. Compliance with national policies is monitored by Criminal Justice Northern Ireland (CJI, 2016), and in England and Wales inspections are carried out by Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Prisons (HMIP, 2014).

Canada has an Inspectorate of Prisons and in the USA each state has its own inspectorate of prisons, for example, Ohio has a Correctional Institution Inspection Committee (CIIC, 2015).

All of the named inspection agencies conduct inspections at least once every five years, plus unannounced and routine inspections. Different aspects of prison operations are inspected every two years.

Each independent agency has a mandate to report objectively against specified criteria to its respective governing body. Examination of published HM Inspectorate of Prison Reports (HMIP, 2016b) shows that there are many categories within reports but none which refer to prison visitors. The visitor is a neglected person in terms of prison administration in the UK, although prison visit statistics are available in Canada (ATI, 2014, 2015).

Another, completely different form of inspection takes place at the corrections facility more often than any operational inspections. I refer to the Visitor Review Boards outlined below.

Information obtained in May 2014 and January 2016 (Canada, 1985, c. A-1; ATI 2014, 2015), indicates that Federal Institutions received 161, 812 visitors between 01 April 2012 and 31 March 2013. In the same period for 2013-2014, there were 158,717 scheduled visits. Visit Review Boards (VRB), were conducted in all cases when entry was denied. During 2012-2013 there were 32,296 visits denied. In the same period during 2013- 2014, the figure was 27,982. This means that 38% of the visitors in this period (2012-2014) were initially denied entry. None of the 60,278 people could visit until a VRB, was held. VRB occur within fourteen days of an incident (CCRR, 559, 2012) where the attendance of the Deputy Warden, the Visits and Correspondence Correctional Manager, Security Intelligence Officer(s), a Parole Officer, and a designate CSC staff member in charge of Visits and Correspondence is required (ATI, 2015). In theory, the visitor is invited to this hearing, but that is not always the practice (CI,2014).

Following VRB decisions for 2012-2013, 3.4% of that 'denied entry' population, i.e., 1093 people, were still denied access; of those 50% had 'no reason' entered into the Online Data Management System, and 169 had criminal convictions or pending charges (CSC-CD. 2013). These 1093 people will have no visits until they can prove that they meet the conditions placed upon them by the VRBs. The remaining VRBs granted access to 31,203 people. For 2013-2014, 39.2% of the 27,982 visitors were denied access i.e., 10,972 people. Of that group 1.61% had pending criminal charges (160) and a few (34) had convictions on file.

These people have no chance to visit until such time as their records are cleared by due process or until official pardons are granted. More than 17,000 people had to wait upon VRB decisions during 2014-2015. Innocent people, with pending criminal charges, are denied visits because of the interpretation of regulations given by CSC staff. They are punished even though their cases have not been heard in any court of law. The current (2016) policy on this issue across Canada is to deny access to those who have been charged and are pending trial. This policy is another constraint which the visitor seems to be unable to change.

There appears to be no evidence of any legal challenge to this policy under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms. Perhaps this is because such a court challenge would be very expensive and the cadre of people who are visitors may not be able to afford the cost or the time it would take to get a case before the Supreme Court of Canada.

### Modern Political Reality and the Prison System

The contemporary social environment, in many Western countries, features a significant proportion of the public who believe that crime is getting worse, and which continues to draw attention from politicians despite clear evidence that crime is falling (Newburn, 2017). Incarcerating one's country out of a crime problem has not worked in the USA (Currie, 2013, p. 24). The heavy use of imprisonment is ineffective as a crime control strategy, as shown by a considerable body of literature: harsher sentencing results in only modest reductions in crime rates (Roberts, Stalans, Indermauer, 2002, p.6; Baker, 2009; Currie, 2013, pp. 25-27), and it has also not shown a direct relationship to reduced crime in the UK.

The application of vastly differing sentencing principles and the propensity to incarcerate also seems to distinguish the USA from CDA and the UK. As noted by Tonry (2001, cited by Roberts, 2002, p.3), "Most U.S. jurisdictions have comprehensively overhauled their sentencing laws and policies, usually to reduce officials' discretion and make penalties harsher". As a result, within the past ten or more years, many state governments have seen their expenses outpace their revenues by large amounts. This has left politicians facing the financial reality of 'Get Tough' policies of the 1980s and 1990s being no longer sustainable in the poorer financial environment of the 21st Century, following the downturn of financial markets in 2008. Prison expenditures have become prioritised and security has taken precedence over concerns for facilitating visits and family rehabilitation.

Contemporary literature referring to the UK, USA and Canada shows a stark contrast between the open prison visits of the 18th and 19th centuries, where security was comparably lax, compared to modern correctional policies which appear to be far less concerned with maintaining family relationships than with tough security measures.

Instead of treating the maintenance of family relationships as an offender's right, CSC, HMPS and the US Department of Justice (USDOJ), state that visitation is a privilege which may be denied, justified by organizational or security needs.

Rather than considering the offender's right to maintain their families as being of paramount importance, security issues are given priority. The denial of visits from family and friends is a form of punishment which is applied to those who have not stood before any court, contrary to the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights, Article 16(3) which states: "The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State."

Demonstrably, as shown by family visitation policies of the CSC, HMPS and USDOJ, this

is not respected. Contact with family members is handled as a privilege, not as a human right “to ensure respect for family life” as outlined by ECHR (Article 8). Article 37 of the United Nations *Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners* (1957), clearly states that, prisoners shall be allowed, under supervision, regular communication and visits from family members (Diver, 2008, p.487).

Canada, the USA and the UK have ignored or neglected this international treaty to which all three are obligated as signatory member states of the United Nations. The prison services of these countries have regulations and policies which flaunt the need to protect the family. The family relationship, however defined, has been subject to abuse by the prison systems in CDA, the UK and the USA. This abuse is a result of a failure to heed the significant tensions between the overriding need for security and the facilitation of family visits.

There appears to be a failure by the CSC and HMPS, to fully understand the impact of imprisonment upon the family of an offender with regard to emotional matters, finances, children, allowed visiting time and the contradictory messages that emerge from the prison system. There is also a failure to grasp the concept, on the part of prison staff, that visitors are free persons who should not be treated like prisoners.

Systemic misunderstanding of the need for family contact is evident because security needs have become the dominant rationale for a prison’s existence rather than the prison acting as a societal support mechanism that keeps offenders out of the larger society in order to protect free citizens. One cannot protect free people through the imposition of rules and regulations which completely deny freedom to non-offending citizens. Vivien Stern’s statement sums up the situation: “Recent policy discourse fails to recognise the basic truth, how damaging prison is, how long-lasting are its negative effects and how hugely difficult it is to inject rehabilitation into an institution crammed to capacity with the poor, the sick and the unwanted of society. The modern prison is never far from slipping into becoming the ‘inhuman and degrading’ institution which human rights instruments are designed to Prevent” (Stern, foreword to Wright, 2008, p.10).

From my viewpoint, Canada has already reached that very sad destination through the use of TE that are focused upon safety and security issues to the detriment of family relationships. Critical examination of these technologies will achieve the aims of this research; to examine the processes and technologies that exclude visitors to prisons and to examine the reasons given to visitors who are denied entry to facilities. Appropriate methods of inquiry to accomplish these aims are outlined in the next chapter.

## Research Methods

### Selected Methods

In this chapter, the rationale for the selection of research methods will be stated. A description of these methods and how they might be applied will also be presented. This unique study of the lived experience of V2 generates new understanding of issues that underpin the visitor experience. The significance of the methods used in this research is of paramount importance in order to meet the aims of this research, which are:

- To investigate the processes and the technologies that exclude visitors to prisons, and
- To investigate the reasons given to visitors who are denied entry to prison facilities in CDA and the UK, and an additional aim,
- To identify the barriers that exist to facilitating prison visits, for example, the disparity between prison policy and actual practices.

Imprisonment unnecessarily violates international human rights legislation through the separation of family members from their incarcerated relatives and friends. Imprisonment violates the basic cohesion and support mechanism that exists in most modern families. The 'forced' separation of family members by a justice system that fails to account for the anguish it places upon innocent members of society is, in my opinion, valid justification for researching this topic.

The interest and drive to bring about this research is based upon the personal experience of visiting prisons and primarily that of working with victims of crime as a Victim Services Team Lead volunteer for the Hamilton Police Service in Ontario, Canada. Victims of crime or circumstance often need the support mechanisms provided by family members and others in order to restore some normality to their lives after traumatic incidents.

From a personal perspective, this need for support is theoretically applicable to those who are visitors and those who are incarcerated. There is no practical manner in which to examine just how offenders wish to or expect to have the support of visitors unless specific research is conducted.

Observation of people being turned away at the prison door prompted this research. I have looked into the eyes of people who have just been told that they may not visit their relatives. The looks on their faces and the anger they expressed were reason enough to consider the study of this topic as a means of finding out more about the visit denial process of which they fell victim. This research will identify means of resolving tensions found within this study and make some recommendations as part of the conclusion.

## The Research Question and Researcher Paradigms

The research question for V2, as expressed in the aim and objectives above, is framed in terms of the 'technologies' used by staff of CSC and HMPS. The significant impact of these technologies of exclusion (TE) upon visitors is carefully examined. With the participants, found through the process described below, the research should produce new information for those who work within the sphere of CSC or HMPS. This information will achieve benefit for V2, bringing about a greater understanding of the issues faced by visitors.

Currently, in 2017, the knowledge base about visitors to prison is very much like a bare cupboard, there is little researched information to be found in the current literature about visitors and none at all about the denial of prison visits. There appears to be no published, peer-reviewed literature directly related to the research topic. This research will therefore add new knowledge to the wider information base of criminology.

It is both desirable and essential that the reader be in a position where he or she may, with a reasonable degree of certainty, rely upon the 'facts' reported and the 'evidence' which supports those facts. This means that reliability and validity of research methods must be seen as firmly established. Both of these components are a product of the methods used by the researcher.

The theory of this criminal justice research, that visitors become victims too, represents an attempt to develop a plausible explanation of the reality faced by prison visitors. It is therefore vital that the research is based upon a good foundation. According to Laws (2003, p.14), "Research methods can be seen as a set of tools which you can use in various ways-but they are complex tools and there are risks attached to their use".

## Complexity

The complexity to which Laws (2003, p.14) refers is not found in any descriptive text, but may be found within the paradigms held by the researcher and through which the world is interpreted. The classical meaning of paradigm, derived from the Greek paradeigma, means 'a framework, model or pattern' (Clark & Clegg, 1998, p. 9). The researcher's patterns of thought, must be acknowledged before and during the research period.

My worldview may comprise several separate or intertwined paradigms. How these paradigms are best understood is, in the opinion of Birks and Mills (2015, p. 54- 55), most often accomplished as a result of a necessary period of self-reflection which allows one to become aware of how the world is perceived. According to Guba (1990, p.17), each individual's worldview is unique, it is a "basic set of beliefs that guide action". Each of us brings our own perspectives, from our social world, to the research that we conduct. As explained by Beyens (2013, p.32), "The choice of paradigms will be closely linked to one's own position in the world and assumptions about the nature of humans, society and reality."

Ontology reveals how we see the nature of things, i.e., it is about our personal theory of reality. Epistemology lets us understand how knowledge is validated and understood (Birks & Mills, 2015, p.52).

Together our ontological and epistemological understandings make up our personal paradigm(s) through which we have, according to Kuhn (1970, p.16-17), “some implicit body of intertwined theoretical and methodological belief that permits selection, evaluation and criticism” of any new knowledge.

Paradigms may shift when new knowledge is revealed because, as research is undertaken, a researcher is able to reflect upon possible biases and prejudices that impinge upon objectivity. According to Weber (1949, cited in Hagan, 2012, p.9), objectivity entails a “value neutral or a dispassionate approach to the subject matter that holds constant personal bias.” It would perhaps be foolish to think that these personal biases, however subtle, do not exist and do not change.

Culture and education create two things; paradigms by which we live and the personal approach that a researcher has towards items even while paradigms change. All research is subject to an ongoing challenge; to remain objective or neutral as new information is integrated with previous knowledge. Even the most sophisticated scientific research contains choices of topic, method and evaluation which are based upon value judgements of the researcher. There will always be doubt about how one may become truly neutral, for without paradigms there can be no baseline for evaluating anything. Although in theory one strives to be as objective as possible, removing any hint of bias when applying one’s judgement to any matter is, perhaps, not possible.

Letherby (2007, p.68), expressed that, “Feminists insist that it is not possible for researchers to be completely detached from their work: emotional involvement cannot be controlled by mere effort of will and this subjective element in research should be acknowledged, even welcomed.”

It follows that to present reflexivity as the panacea for assisting all who conduct research would be unfair, as there are some (Cutcliffe, 2003; Glaser, 2001, cited by Birks & Mills, 2015, p.53,), who reject reflexivity as a useless tool. This is because it is thought to be impossible to obtain complete knowledge of the self or because the researcher tends to place information within some preconceived theoretical model. The researcher is the only one who may resolve this dilemma about whether or not reflexivity assists in the research process.

According to Etherington (2004, p.27), “knowledge can only be partial and built upon the culturally defined stocks of knowledge available to us at any given time in history; reality is socially and personally constructed; there is no fixed and unchanging ‘Truth’.” This idea, that knowledge may only ever be ‘partial’, happens to be central to the perspectives held by the researcher.

Some writers, for example Burrell (1996, p.34), believe that each person holds a mixture of multiple perspective which make up the interpretation or understanding of one's self. A researcher must be conscious of this possibility as it may bring up a challenge to objectivity. Perhaps the implication of this is that our perspectives are variable, even though we may think of them as constant and steady. This ongoing challenge should not imply that research is an endless treadmill of changing ideas or foci, but rather that one must be constantly cognizant of these possibilities for change in perspective, as the research is being done.

Objectivity, which may be gained through empirical perceptions of the world and which allow the production of knowledge, leads to an understanding of the issue that is both impartial and unbiased (Cresswell, 2009, pp. 91-92). However, according to Denzin and Lincoln (1998, cited by Dunne, Pryor and Yates, 2005, p.17), "The age of value-free enquiry for the human disciplines is over". Being neutral or 'objective' is viewed by others, as an almost impossible state to attain simply because one may not remove the personal foundation upon which the world is interpreted (Grix, 2010, pp.31- 32.) This is expanded by Dunne (2005, p.5), through the observation that research originates from the social interaction of the researcher with the researched and that the nature of the social interaction, and to some extent that of power in relationships, is unavoidably implicated.

Lumsden (2014, p.24), states that, "All social actors are reflexive agents, in the sense that they are able to continually alter their behaviour in response to the situations they are experiencing." The variable complex interaction of perceptions may be addressed through the incorporation of ongoing reflexivity as a deliberate strategy and as part of the research design according to Charmaz (2014, cited by Birks & Mills, 2015, p.53), even to the point of making regular journal notes about how different experiences within the research make an impact (Birks & Mills, 2015, p.52; Lee, 2009, p.64).

Dunne (2005, p.17), argues that, "research is the discovery and assembly of what actually is; this necessarily involves screening out our own values as researchers." Whatever judgments are made about research findings, they are necessarily bound up in the value system held by the researcher although every effort may be made to recognize potential bias and to evaluate things in a neutral fashion.

Thankfully there is no magic "neutrality pill" that brings a guarantee that all values held will be neutralized. Removing the baseline of judgment in this way would ruin any hope of reasonable and fair evaluation of researched material. As stated by Denzin and Lincoln, (2005, p.22,), "All research is interpretive. It is guided by the researcher's set of beliefs and feelings about the world and how it should be understood and studied. Some beliefs may be taken for granted, invisible, only assumed, whereas others are highly problematic and controversial."



## Risk

Some research risks are perceived to be based upon concerns which view quantitative methods as being more objective and perhaps more scientific than qualitative methods (Laws, 2003, p.14.). This risk comes from the 'old-fashioned' belief that scientific methods were proven and less open to mis-interpretation, and therefore better than qualitative methods. Contemporary mixed methods used in this research inherently have a cross-check system, commonly referred to as cross-validation, where qualitative and Quantitative research are viewed as complementary (Bergman, 2008, p.19). Other risks apparent when 'doing' research include the failure to know, understand and acknowledge one's own views of the world (Laws, 2003, p.14.). My experience related to the manner in which some incarcerated individuals are or have been treated, is acknowledged. I have experienced the process of visiting prisons and have deliberately drawn upon that experience in the formulation of the research question. To the best of my ability, that experience, is set aside as new information is revealed. The research risk, if any, would be in allowing bias to creep into the interpretation of new information.

The researcher has no agenda except that expressed in the stated purpose of this research, which is to find out how various technologies are used to exclude individuals and families from the visiting process at CSC facilities and the costs of this exclusion to visitors and offenders. Research findings will be presented to Members of Parliament responsible for CSC and HMPS, in the hope that changes may be made to the manner in which visitors are treated, changes that from the researcher's perspective, will be positive.

Fundamentally, as the researcher, I agree with Denzin (2012, p. 86), who claims that:

"Qualitative research scholars have an obligation to change the world, to engage in ethical work that makes a positive difference. We are challenged to confront the facts of injustice, to make the injustices of history visible and hence open to change and transformation." Scholars may achieve this through surveys and interviews in order to determine and interpret facts related to perceived injustices. The 'facts on the ground' as researched, would then be revealed to pertinent authorities in order to develop understanding of findings and have them considered for action that would have V2 treated in a better manner.

## Research Design

Two prime considerations which control all aspects of this research. The first is the need to find participants who meet selected criteria: they must be of the age of majority and have attempted to visit an incarcerated relative or friend. A potential participant group may be found among the clientele of those professionals who provide social services to incarcerated clients, for example, the Elizabeth Fry, St. Leonard and John Howard Societies.

With the assistance of these NGOs and their willingness to distribute information about the research, getting research participants to volunteer for a study about their personal experiences and involvement with prison visits proved to be difficult and time consuming. Each NGO passed information to prospective participants. These people did not know the researcher and therefore relied heavily on information from their respective NGO about the research and the researcher before agreeing to participate. There were no assurances that people would volunteer, so much depended upon good presentations to the NGO governing bodies and honest disclosure about one's own history...as the NGOs were also unfamiliar with the researcher.

The second consideration is gathering of information in an ethical manner, from participants who may not want to disclose anything at all about their visits, would likely mean that a person would not consent to participation in an interview and that may be attributable to feelings of shame, fear or other societal factors which remain unknown. The unique exploratory nature of the topic means that gathering information about attempts to visit a prison and the corollary experience of being rejected as a visitor is essential. For that to happen there is a need to hear the participants tell, in their own words, about their experiences. This means that a qualitative approach, that will collect rich data, is required.

Gathering information appears to be a simple process of asking questions and recording answers. This process is, however, not straightforward. Collecting information from participants may be done in a variety of ways, the simplest of which is to interview participants using questions that draw out pertinent information. Information may also be gathered impersonally through via a computer survey format or by means of a print survey. In this research, an unstructured interview and an on-line survey are used. An on-line survey format may be accessed from the internet and could be done in less time, is not face to face; it may be done at any time and at a pace set by the participant, and it does not necessarily involve travel time or cost.

I use the term 'participant' because it indicates that people contributing to this research are people who work with the researcher to accomplish a goal, rather than the term 'subjects' upon whom the researcher places a burden of responding to a task. It may be a small distinction, but it brings about a co-operative and positive approach to this research, the intent of which is to remove any consideration, during an interview, that there might be a power/control relationship involved in the research. This, in turn, enables free expression of concerns on the part of the participant and hopefully removes any temptation on their part to give answers that they feel the researcher would like to hear.

The interview is a very personal approach with which to explore the topic. It requires an arranged meeting and may involve the cost of travel and a commitment of time. It also involves face to face discussion.

The unstructured interview is an unusual research tool that is difficult to conduct because it requires the ability to hold back any influential component of dialogue and social interaction. Cicourel (1964), cited by Rapley (2001, p 308), highlights “how the ‘art of interviewing’ is a product of artful social interaction; it relies on and attends to the skills and methods people employ in doing everyday life.”

Even though many individuals are reluctant or unwilling to talk with others about their circumstances related to the prison system, there are those who wish to do so for a variety of reasons and it is from this group that participants come forward. As one of the participants indicated, some simply come forward to participate because they wish to see things “get better” for others and to tell their stories “to someone who will listen.”

### Research Process

According to Cresswell (2009, p.3), there are three fundamental methods of research that are used today; quantitative, qualitative and mixed methods. Within these research methods there are practical procedures used to generate data and process information (Birks and Mills, 2015, p.4). Examination of the research question clearly indicates that there needs to be a method or methods that will gather information from participants while, at the same time, respecting their comfort and emotional well-being. This is significant because some participants may be emotionally vulnerable. Asking individuals about their relatives or friends in prison is not part of an average, everyday conversation.

The nature of this sensitive inquiry means that questions or prompts should be framed and presented in a tactful, diplomatic language. This also means that if my interview skills are unable to create an atmosphere in which the participant feels comfortable enough to give honest and open responses, the entire research project may be in danger. My experience, over many years of working in public education and with victims of crime has allowed me to hone my interpersonal skills, to put people at ease and gain their trust.

V2 research is approached from several points of view, one of which could be considered an advocacy or a participatory position according to Cresswell (2009, p.227). This means that critical theory used during inquiry is intertwined with an agenda that may impinge upon the lives of participants and their relationships with government institutions. The research may therefore be potentially involved with political decision making at some future point. In order that results are fair and reasonable the researcher should consider all issues with a view to being as objective as possible. Understanding one’s own position on issues is critical if items are to be considered fairly. This is essential if the research is to be used by any agency as evidence-based research without bias being a factor.

Although true objectivity may never be achieved, careful reflection may remove most, if not all, preconceived influences. There is also a component within this research that lends itself to a constructivist philosophy in which there is a need to identify and interpret the subjective experiences and meanings of interactions with institutions and other people (Cresswell, 2009, p. 8). This constructivist philosophy also requires the researcher to consciously endeavour to remain neutral as facts are gathered but it is a somewhat circuitous position, one has a world-view which may then be held out as a potential for bias when interpreting new information.

A part of this research falls under the umbrella of positivism which searches for cause and effect relationships. The measurable cause of visit denial is a variable, dependent upon how the regulations are interpreted by Corrections staff, they are part of the TE, and the effect is the resultant treatment of visitors.

However, the interpretation of rules, policies and principles is not something that may be studied in a truly objective fashion. For example, one cannot state unequivocally that each and every person who reads Rule 1 will interpret it in the same way because each individual has his or her own world view in addition to any imposed predominant work parameters within which one must work. Positivism is not concerned with the abstract and the unproven; it deals with the tangible and quantifiable, it is deterministic and strives to understand causes and assess outcomes. Kirk and Miller's (1986, p.3), definition of positivism emphasizes the assumption that, "... the external world itself determines absolutely the one and only correct view that can be taken of it, independent of the process or circumstances of viewing."

However, I believe that there is no 'one and only' correct view of any matter that pertains to this research, there is no absolute truth. There are variable sets of conditions when one engages with social research of any kind, for example, some participants may feel constrained by the personally sensitive nature of the topic and hold back with their responses, whereas others may feel relieved that someone is interested in their story and give expansive responses.

### Mixed Methods

After much consideration of information in publications by Bergman (2008), Cresswell (2009), Hagan (2012), Mills (2015), and previous research (Woodrow, 1989, 1996, 2010, 2012), I chose to use a mixture of research processes using two approaches. Both approaches (qualitative and quantitative) are considered to have value.

There is always a need to establish that what is discovered by one method may be verified in another way. An unstructured interview generates qualitative data through the use of open questions. It has the distinct advantage of enabling the participant to talk in some depth using their own words, without the researcher giving any clues that could predispose a participant towards what he or she thinks the researcher wants to hear (Gillham, 2007, p.52).

I found this technique very useful in my teaching career as it draws the information out without setting the direction of that information and therefore allows for new discoveries or interpretations.

The value to using differing approaches may be found in the fact that findings may be corroborated as two approaches may reveal differing findings and point out possible discrepancies within the research process. Method Triangulation allows for the establishment of more rigid validity of findings (Denzin, 1970, cited in Davies, 2000, p. 72), and the mix of data from at least two differing sources is important because it provides strength to the interpretation of data. In a similar vein, by using more than one method based on the same question, it is possible to substantiate findings as being “accurate” or within parameters that are considered reasonable by the researcher.

The first approach was the use of an on-line survey, designed by me and established on-line through a commercial corporation that specializes in surveys, namely ‘Survey Monkey’. The on-line survey was relatively easy to set up in technical terms. Finding the website, establishing an account and following screen directions were very straightforward. Deciding which questions to ask and framing them appropriately to make sure that the survey would draw out the information desired, took some time. The quantitative data from survey information identified the relative importance of visitor issues and added to the findings of qualitative information obtained through unstructured interviews.

The survey, appended as Appendix B, comprised 24 questions designed to determine demographic information about visitors: age, gender, children, relationship to the offender, reasons for visits, reasons why visits were refused, distance travelled to facilitate a visit, the cost of visits and how people were treated by Corrections staff etc. Participants became aware of the survey through contact with social service agencies by email, and on Facebook and internet contacts. The survey could be completed in a short period of approximately 20 minutes, and for those who did not use computers, a print copy was made available which could then be mailed anonymously to the Post Office Mail Box address provided in the Invitation letter.

Each aspect of the research design has a different value in terms of approach and comfort level for participants. The on-line computer survey has an advantage of being remote and non-threatening because it could be done when convenient, in the comfort of a participant’s home. It is therefore a private event, a factor that may be of concern to those who did not wish to be interviewed. The nature of the survey guarantees confidentiality of responses as it also allows for answers to be changed or omitted. It provides contact information for the researcher if needed. The survey could be stopped at any time and the participant has complete control over this process, the only restriction was the cut-off date of 30 June 2016. During the open period, for the survey, data received through the postal service was manually entered into the data base by the researcher and original copies secured.

One drawback to a survey of this kind relates to the fact that one cannot prove whether participants have complied with the requested survey parameters, for example, if they were of the age of majority or if they have used a second computer to complete the survey more than once. Unless one had deliberately tracked computer identification codes, it was impossible to determine if respondents are Canadian, British or from another country.

The second aspect to this research was an unstructured exploratory interview, to find information about visitors' issues not mentioned in the literature. The interviews, using open-ended questions, sought information based upon personal experiences without limiting responses. These were introduced in a manner that did not interrupt the flow of conversation, and were presented in any order until all areas were discussed. Interviews, in theory, give a clear picture of how people are refused entry, although some participants will have experienced normal visits and visit refusals. The participants related their lived experiences, and according to Gee (1985, cited by Mischler, 1986, p.68), their own story is "the primary way-human beings make sense of their experience is by casting it in a narrative form ..."

Interviews were recorded using a digital recorder, with prior written permission of participants, for the sake of accuracy. Recording allowed for the natural flow of conversation during the interview as there was no delay for note-taking. It also allowed for accurate transcription of information, as digital voice recording technology associated with computer voice transcription programmes, printed the interview dialogue.

The unstructured exploratory interview has several advantages. Information gathered is not only related to objectively measurable events, such as a family birthday or anniversary, but also to the ways that people interpret and give meaning to their experiences. A qualitative approach aims to discover new understanding rather than imposing preconceived categories (May, 2002, p.199). This gives an advantage to the researcher who may move back and forth as the responses lead to theoretical insights, which possibly prompts adjustments in the questions.

The unstructured interview allows the researcher to explore the in-depth feelings, motives and attitudes of the participant, something that is not possible through on-line surveys. It, importantly, allows the participant to address related issues that they feel are significant and allows her or him to express freely whatever comes to mind (Davies, Francis & Jupp 2011, p.61).

The interview has yet another practical advantage of allowing the participant to select the time and place of meeting and, to some extent, the time consumed by the interview. The interview can therefore be a process that allows the participant both control and comfort. During the interview, the establishment of a good rapport with participants is of utmost importance (Fontana, 2007, p.20) and as noted by Oakley (1997, p.33), "A balance must be struck between the warmth required to generate 'rapport' and the detachment necessary to see the interviewee as an object under surveillance".

Good rapport is essential, but this must not be overdone as the researcher is, as much as possible, to remain neutral in order to protect the integrity of the process. Interviewing those who may have had bad emotional experiences must be undertaken with great care. The interviewer must be perceived as one who is non-judgemental and non-hierarchical, in the sense that the interviewer and participant are on a level playing field, there is no status attached to being the interviewer.

The interviewer must, however, take advantage of the participant's narrative through attentive listening. In the view of Polkinghorne (1988, cited by Gillham, 2007, p. 47), "Narrative is the primary form by which human experience is made meaningful." When a person tells a story of his/her own experience, it organizes thoughts into a shared narrative through which others may derive meaning. For some, the construction of a narrative experience is central to the psychological construct of the 'self' (Bruner, 1987, cited by Gillham, 2007, p. 48).

This is why the unstructured interview which may capture that view of the 'self', as relayed in a narrative form, is vital to this research about people who have been denied prison visits. According to Gillham (2007, p. 46), unstructured interviews pass the responsibility for the structure of an interview to the person interviewed and allow him/her to tell their story in their own way and in their own time. Because the sensitive nature of the research may inhibit the revelation of some events, emotions and feelings the interviewee is given the freedom to express ideas without having to answer a series of questions from the researcher, and in that sense, he/she controls the structure or direction of the narrative.

All interviews have a 'structure'. It should not, however, not be overtly perceived by the interviewee, as in this case of the 'unstructured interview', which requires that the interviewer have a cluster of background skills that allow the participant the freedom to express ideas or tell their story without inhibiting factors. This is an essential component, where the interest of the researcher is within an area of the participant's life that would not, under normal circumstances, be discussed. In the case of this research, all participants who were interviewed had a common background of having a relative or close friend in prison.

The cluster of skills that an interviewer must have to enable the conduct of successful unstructured interviews include the following, some of which may seem obvious but which are in fact refined through practice. The proxemics of a situation must be understood. The researcher must be able to perceive and react to the body-language of the interviewee. Small changes in facial expression or body position are often indicative of comfort or discomfort related to the subject matter being revealed.

Blatner (1985) noted that, "Non-lexical vocal communications may be considered a type of non-verbal communication which includes inflection, pacing, intensity, tone, pitch, pauses, and eye contact, facial expression, posture and gesture". Matsumoto, Frank and Hwang (2013) wrote extensively indicating how these observations are significant contributors to good understanding of non-verbal communication.

The most important skill that must be brought to bear in an unstructured interview is that of attentive, focused listening, which is not the same as casual listening. Focused listening enables the researcher to pick up on nuances of language and tonality that imply meaning which otherwise might be missed.

A further skill that must be possessed by the researcher is the ability to accept the content of what is said by an interviewee without giving any evidence of surprise, criticism, endorsement or rejection. People who are revealing information about themselves are often highly sensitive people, and although that may seem obvious, it is this very sensitivity that one must respect if one is to obtain genuine personal stories about the lived experiences of interviewees.

At the beginning of an interview the interviewer has no clear picture of potential outcomes when conducting an unstructured interview, but must have a broad background knowledge of the area being researched in order to facilitate non-directional prompts, prompts which encourage more disclosure without suggesting content. For example, one may prompt a response by saying “what happened next?”, by asking “is there more to that part?” The essential practice used here is that no direction about subject matter is given or offered. A cautionary note to this is that the interviewee might, for personal reasons, change the focus of the topic, in which case cautious prompts related to previously disclosed material might be necessary, a point which emphasizes the stated need for attentive, focused listening.

With many years of experience as a teacher, I have interviewed hundreds of parents about some very sensitive issues, both behavioural and academic. I qualified as a mediator through the Alternate Dispute Resolution Association of Canada. As a Commanding Officer of a Naval Division I conducted many interviews of young people aspiring to become officers in the Canadian Navy. As a trained volunteer with Victim Services of the Hamilton Police Service, I have talked with many victims of crime in order to enable them to move forward with their lives. This has been extremely valuable experience, mostly through unstructured dialogue, where understanding emotional situations has produced very positive results in leading victims of crime towards planning for the future.

The interviewer has to have empathy for the situation, but that must be coupled with self-knowledge, so that the interviewer does not fall into an emotional trap that then influences further dialogue. This is a critical skill that must be used throughout any interview. Experience and many years of practice have developed those skills described above to a level that has enabled me to conduct unstructured interviews successfully.

The aims of the study were achieved because unstructured interviews were able to draw out the story of the lived experiences of participants. This information makes a unique contribution to knowledge about prison visitors that has not been written about in the literature of criminology.



As a researcher, one must not render physical or emotional harm to participants. Judging when a person is becoming emotionally upset requires the researcher to be very attentive to all aspects of a person's presentation of self. The 'body language' of the participant must be gauged and responded to immediately if the interview is to be successful. Incorrect evaluation of this could lead to the end of any information gathering.

The interviewer must be aware of the meaning and truthfulness of responses and cautious of the potential for participants who may invent answers that they think the interviewer wants to hear (Johnson, 2014, p.117). This concern may be addressed, through good question design and sequencing which allows one to determine consistency of responses. One must not however, get into making the interview seem as though it is a snare waiting to be sprung; the simple rewording or repetition of previously asked questions does not make for good interviewing technique.

Denzin and Lincoln (2000. p.8), observed that the relationship between the researcher and the researched is sometimes subject to value judgments within the qualitative perspective whereas quantitative measurements are perhaps more value free. The balance between these two perspectives, is crucial if reasonable analysis of data is to be obtained. It is a fair comment to note that feminist researchers may be more aware, more sensitive in observing whether the relationship is non-hierarchical and non-judgmental (Edwards and Mauthner, 2012, p.22).

Qualitative researchers stress the socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry. Such researchers emphasize the value-laden nature of inquiry. They seek answers to questions that stress how social experience is created and given meaning. In contrast, quantitative studies emphasize the measurement and analysis of causal relationships between variables, not processes. Inquiry is purported to be within a value free framework (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000, p.8).

According to Bergman (2008, p.18) "...qualitative research on the other hand generally examines peoples' worlds and actions in narrative or descriptive ways more closely representing the situation as experienced by the participants". It is this qualitative narrative that is crucial to being able to understand the impact of visit denial upon participants: interview responses are indicative of a quality of lived experience and as such they are not measurable on a fixed scale. Gathered data will be critically examined and analysed using content analysis as described by Hsieh and Shannon (2005, p.1279-1281) in order to determine how the research question has been answered. The attached survey responses (Appendix B) are quantifiable and reveal demographic information about gender, residence distance from the facility, age, costs of visiting and the reasons for visiting.

## Ethical Considerations

The search for participants and their subsequent treatment must be conducted in an ethical manner. *A Student's Guide to Research Ethics* (Paul, 2010), outlines considerations that are also within the University of Portsmouth's Ethics Policy. Those ethical standards include the need to respect the privacy of individuals, to obtain informed and voluntary consent from each participant, to safeguard confidential information, to render no harm and to report honestly about one's findings. The information gathered may only be used for the original stated purpose to which the participants agree, unless further consent from participants is obtained. Participants are to be fully informed about the purpose, methods and the intended use of the research. This information includes details about what their participation in the research entails and allows for consideration of any risks, emotional or otherwise by participants. Participants are also informed that they may withdraw at any time without any obligation to provide reasons.

They must be informed that confidential information supplied by them or provided by external agencies must and will be held in strictest confidence and that their anonymity will be respected. The research is designed so that there is integrity and transparency in all phases of the research process.

Ethical concerns were addressed in the original proposal for this research submitted to the University of Portsmouth Ethics Review Panel. It was determined that this research meets or exceeds the necessary standards for social research of this nature (Appendix D). Most, if not all of the ethical standards mentioned above are clear. The concept that the research process may not render harm needs expansion. Although this is easy to understand in the physical sense, this issue is more difficult to assess in the emotional, mental welfare sense. The only person who may assess if an interview question is upsetting is the person of whom the questions are asked.

To prevent possible emotional upset the researcher must be constantly cognizant of a person's reaction to questions and statements during the interview. This implies that the researcher has the skills necessary to monitor the comfort level of participants and to decide when it would be preferential to have the participant withdraw from the process with dignity. It is a matter of experience and judgement on the part of the researcher that enables this decision to be taken appropriately.

Every person interviewed has a relative who is incarcerated. This fact is, for some people, disturbing. To be asked questions about visiting the incarcerated person may, for some people, be a very distressing occurrence. Participants may be thought of, in some cases, as vulnerable people who are consenting to disclose very upsetting personal experiences to the researcher.

As a professional teacher with many years of experience working with Special Education children (behavioural), and their families I have conducted many interviews with parents and children. In my role as a Victim Services lead volunteer I have interviewed many victims of crime and have experience where sensitive issues have been discussed

and where, in some cases, counselling has been advised.

In addition, I am a trained mediator a member of the Alternate Dispute Resolution Institute of Ontario. As the sole proprietor of Pathfinder Mediation, I have had successful experience mediating family disputes.

I have given presentations at conferences, for St John Ambulance (SJA), in Ontario, on 'Basic Mediation Techniques' and on 'Dealing with Difficult People'. For more than ten years I have successfully conducted SJA operational reviews concerning sensitive issues and personnel relationships. Recognizing issues that are perceived as doing harm comes as a natural thing to do for me. Through the training and experience of being a Teacher, Naval Officer, Mediator, Pilot Instructor and Chair of an Insurance Review Board, (Co-operators Insurance Company of Canada), it is a very normal thing to look for issues that have the potential to render harm. In all of these areas mentioned above, there has been the possibility, under differing circumstances, for harm to have occurred.

The causes of emotional harm are many and one does not have to be a registered psychiatrist to acknowledge that there are situations in which emotional harm is done and 'society' at large does little or nothing about it. Such is the case when people are turned away from their relatives and friends. One sees all sorts of drama, on the television and film screen, in which people are rejected. Perhaps one may take comfort in the knowledge that it is just drama. However, when people are turned away from their relatives and friends in real life at the prison door, that is not drama; harm is being done.

Perhaps this is done unwittingly or even in an unknowing fashion but, in my opinion, harm is being done. The prevention of that possibility is one of many reasons for choosing this research topic.

It must be made clear to participants that the research is independent of and free from any obligation to other parties, i.e., there is no hidden agenda regarding the motivation or results of the research, save those expressed in the original objectives. I have no conflict of interest or partiality regarding the research information or possible outcomes. All participants are given a copy of the research objectives and these are discussed with each participant before the research commences.

### Gaining Access to Participants

The participants in this study are ordinary people who come from the 'microcosm' of society; they are from all walks of life. According to a study done by Flynn (1998, p.68), prisoners and their families are likely to have come from less stable family backgrounds. Many have had single parent backgrounds, 19% of prisoners were married when arrested (compared to 61% of the married general population), many did not finish school, almost half of prisoners are under 30 and many have experienced periods of unemployment, and two thirds of the prisoners are male.

In this study, purposive sampling was used. This is sampling in which “particular settings, persons, or events are deliberately selected for the important information they can provide that cannot be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell, 1997, cited by Teddlie & Yu, 2007, p.77). The purposely selected participants are the only cadre which could provide the necessary information that will satisfy the aims of the research. Some participants are wealthy, poor, professional or labourers. They have a variety of work backgrounds, some are employed, unemployed or retired. All have three common characteristics. All have an incarcerated relative or friend.

Secondly, all have, in some way, been denied one or more visits with their relatives or friends in prison. The third common characteristic is that V<sup>2</sup> is of the age of maturity, and by virtue of that age, may voluntarily and legally consent to be interviewed privately without parental involvement. For clarity, the age of majority in Canada varies by Province and Territory, where the youngest minimum age is 18 years.

Secondary participants are those unknown individuals who, of their own accord, participate in the on-line survey established for this research (Appendix B). Unrestricted access to people with a specific knowledge set is almost impossible to achieve, especially if the knowledge set is one that is perceived to have a stigma attached to it, as is often the case with relatives of offenders. For some of this group, the perception of the sensitive and perhaps more threatening nature of the topic creates a greater need to hide that knowledge, and this diminishes the will to come forward (Noaks, 2004, p.146). This sensitivity ties in with the essential need to develop a good rapport with participants.

Caution must be exercised as to whether or not the sample group may truly represent all who are in the same circumstance, at the same time, or even in the same geographic area (Wellington & Szczerbinski, 2007, p.68). Participants are an extremely difficult group of people to find. Finding an individual who may have an incarcerated relative or friend for research purposes is, to use a well understood phrase, comparable to searching for a needle in a haystack.

Donald Braman reflects a general perception about how people with incarcerated relatives behave, “...most told no one outside of the immediate family about their relative’s incarceration and the troubles they faced. Indeed, many were even hiding the incarceration from extended family members...” and, “Perhaps the most unexpected finding is that the stigma related to incarceration is visited on the families of prisoners as much as -if not more than- it is on prisoners themselves” (Braman, 2007, p.165-166). Relatives of the incarcerated often have ‘dark’ secrets because they are double secrets, hidden from others and they are never openly admitted by the secret holder in his or her portrayal of reality (Goffman, 1959, p.66, p.141). This is understandable behaviour, but it greatly adds to the difficulty in finding participants.

Another major reason for difficulty in finding participants ties directly into the Privacy Laws in Canada and the UK. These regulations are such that agencies of the Crown, i.e., CSC and HMPS, have no obligation to reveal the identity of incarcerated people. One cannot obtain contact links, i.e., names addresses, phone numbers, email addresses,

for relatives and friends of offenders through any official channel. Further, official government organisations are under a legal obligation to protect the identity of people within their care and may not identify potential participants.

This also applies to those who would visit a prison, since they come under the same protective regulations once they set foot within a facility, i.e., you may not be told who has visited a prison by CSC/HMPS staff. The laws related to privacy in CDA and the UK have many subsets of regulations that thoroughly delineate all areas, including who may or may not have access to information and under what conditions. Under the Privacy Act of Canada (1982-85; the Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act, 1995; and the Digital Privacy Act, 2015; Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms, Constitution Act 1982; and in the UK, Justice, 1983; Privacy and the Human Rights Act, 1998), personal information of offenders or visitors may not be disclosed by or to any person who is not an employee of CSC or HMPS. If government employees reveal such information they are subject to severe penalties which include dismissal from their place of work.

In UK law, there was no such thing as “the right to privacy”, as exemplified by *Wainwright v Home Office*, 2003. The Lords held that there was no cause of action under English law for “invasion of privacy.”

Notwithstanding *Wainwright v Home Office*, there is an ethical requirement that research is conducted in a proper manner respecting the privacy of individuals. In order to gain access to participants it was necessary to approach them through a third party, thus avoiding concerns about privacy regulations. A pathway around this privacy barrier was found through non- government organizations (NGO), the Elizabeth Fry Society (EFS), John Howard Society (JHS), and the St Leonard’s Society (SLS), The Canadian Families and Corrections Network (CFCN), The Prison Fellowship of Canada, and PASAN Inc. In this paper, these NGOs are all referred to as Agencies. Agencies such as these deal with relatives of incarcerated people who have “run up against” the justice system.

Although these NGOs are bound by privacy laws (Canada, Privacy Act, 1985), unlike official government organizations they, in an indirect manner, assisted in establishing a contact with potential participants as follows.

In order to convince the agencies to help, the research plan was presented to the Boards of Directors of the NGO’s, describing the research in detail. Permission was sought to work with each organization. Each agency was informed about the details of the research; voluntary consent, use of research information, confidentiality, ethical approval by the University, the potential time line, how information would be used and stored, and whether or not it will be destroyed after the research is completed. Once the presentation was done, the NGO’s Board of Directors then considered the research and, since all went well, approval was granted by all organizations to assist. Packages of information were sent to each NGO, which was passed on to potential participants. The package for each agency (Appendix A) contained:

- Details of the research including an explanation of a potential participant's role and expectations, i.e., the time involvement, the possibility of withdrawing, the use and protection of information and contact information required to establish interview times with participants and contact information for my advisor from the University of Portsmouth, Dr. Jacki Tapley, and
- An Invitation Letter, and
- a full Description of the Research, and
- A Voluntary Consent form, and
- The access code for the on-line survey.

This approach allowed potential participants, of their own accord, to get in touch with the researcher. Once this contact was established, arrangements were then made about how the researcher would obtain information from each participant.

The reality brought about by the necessity to follow the Privacy Act (Canada, Privacy Act, 1985), is that it was completely dependent upon NGOs passing information to potential respondents. The researcher had no control over this process as it rested entirely upon the goodwill and effectiveness of people within the NGO.

Because of this rather elongated process, there was the potential to have a long-time period before contacts were established. Secondly, there might be only a small group of participants which might limit the amount of information gathered. The research depended entirely upon whether a potential participant would react positively to the information package they received from the NGO. Whatever a potential participant may have gleaned from an information package could only be enhanced through their direct contact with the NGO representatives. This point emphasizes the need for constant follow-up with these agencies as the NGOs became the liaison and source of participants. The research depended upon a continuing and positive relationship with the agencies.

Some lawyers assisted by relaying information to potential participants. Agencies in different areas of Canada, JHS in Kingston, PSN in Toronto, CFCN in Ottawa, have been very supportive. All have assisted with contacting potential participants and the support from above named Agencies enabled the research to proceed.

Ethical considerations for this research were reviewed by the University Ethics Review panel. All participants were told about the review process of the University and were most accepting of the fact that they had been given full disclosure, in writing, about the research. They were comfortable knowing that they could withdraw at any time without question. Participants became known to me only through above mentioned agencies, and all contacted me by email to indicate that they were willing to be interviewed. With participants now available, it became essential that selected research methods meet the aims of the study.

### Participants Found

After much time and effort, 21 participants who were willing to be interviewed, were found. Appendix B shows a basic profile of each participant.

Although this is a small study it should not reduce the significance of any findings. Where the current research may not be representative of all people who visit prisons it does, however, allow an understanding of the experiences of a group of individuals who have direct experience of the topic.

This is similar to small-scale qualitative research described in the feminist research literature: “the purely personal account of one individual woman’s oppression while casting brilliant insights may tell us more about the essentially idiosyncratic character of her unique experience than the generality of experience of all or even most women”(Letherby, 2007.p.90).

In my opinion, responses obtained may be considered to be truthful, as participants have nothing to gain from being deceptive. Once the initial conversation started, participants were very keen to tell their stories and it took little prompting to get them to ‘open up’. Often responses would include information which related to several research aims as individuals described various incidents. There were, as anticipated, some responses which rambled into domestic areas about very personal family issues and concerns, which I redirected to the research focus.

Significantly, some participants expressed appreciation that, “finally someone wanted to listen without judging them”, and that there is a potential for prison authorities to get to know of this research. As the researcher, I was careful to state that there were no assurances of that. I informed participants that this research would be presented to public figures in government in Canada and the UK for discussion purposes. Ideally, if the same process is followed and the same questions were to be asked of an equal, i.e., comparable group in another geographical area of Canada or the UK, during the same time period, we might find a consistency of data within the responses which would be an indicator of reliability (Hagan, 2012, p.288).

### Critical Analysis of Interviews

In the wider sphere of research, data is evaluated on the basis of three areas: validity, reliability and the ability to apply the research to other areas. Validity indicates the extent to which methods and procedure give answers that may be perceived as ‘correct’; it is the extent to which conclusions drawn from research are credible or plausible (Hudson, 2007, p.172; Davies et al, 2011, p.10).

As asked by Hagan (2012, p.282), “Does the research question appear, at face value, to measure what the researcher is attempting to measure?” This point is important when it comes to the interpretation of data. If the researcher has a theory of how things should work out beforehand, the interpretation of information could become biased. All answers given by participants are based on the experiential information each has had. There are no ‘correct’ or ‘wrong’ answers and the validity of answers is based upon a perception of truth contained within the answers as understood by the researcher. When methods used give the same or very similar information every time, they are considered to be reliable.

Qualitative reliability is indicated by the researcher's consistent application of selected methods (Creswell 2009, p.190). Results may only be judged to be reliable if the interview style, the prompting process and questions asked are the same and presented in a consistent manner.

Although responses will vary considerably, due to individual circumstances, this does not undermine the reliability of the research. This reliability rests upon the consistent presentation of questions given to individuals who have similar life experiences. The common ground for all participants is that they have had similar but unique experiences.

Following each interview, the information gathered must be critically reviewed, as soon as possible, in order to record the nuances of the observed expressions of thought. This adds emphasis to the verbal transcript and is part of good interview technique. The topics mentioned by participants have to be sorted into categories of concern and common threads must be determined. This requires understanding of the nuances in language gathered during the interview through careful observation and listening.

Responses may have a wide variety of sub-area topics which will, subsequently, be critically evaluated using text content analysis techniques. Interview information is critically examined through conventional content analysis (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, pp.1279-1281). This is accomplished through the careful review of subject content and vocabulary. Content analysis is a widely used qualitative research technique which, according to Rosengren (1981, cited by Hsieh, 2005, p.1277), "...describes a family of analytic approaches ranging from impressionistic, intuitive, interpretive analyses to systematic, strict textual analyses."

Although content analysis has three distinct approaches; conventional, directed, or summative to interpret meaning from the text, a conventional approach was used. Themes were developed by identifying the 'common threads' within the statements of the participants. These 'common threads' were recognized by the vocabulary used combined with the frequency of expressions used about one subject area. As an example, all words related to anger would be reviewed and examined in the context of the phrases given, and the commonality of those phrases would be recorded, as an example, to bring about statements about how and why the participants expressed that anger. Through analysis of phrases and words used, a group of common themes was developed. It should be noted that themes are not isolated, separate and apart, one from the other. The themes discovered in this research are presented in the following chapter.



## The Routine Visit and Discovered Themes

This chapter outlines the process of a 'routine' prison visit as a base for understanding participant concerns. It is followed by a critical analysis of data from the on-line survey and semi- structured interviews and an examination of emerging themes. The analysis of these themes rounds out the chapter.

### The Routine Visit

Given that any visit to a prison is controlled by regulations, for brevity the focus will only be upon the process of entry. In Canada, a potential visitor would obtain an 'Application to Visit' form by email or post. Once completed and returned, it would be checked against the Canadian Police Information Centre data base (CPIC). Approval to visit would be granted if there is nothing unusual in the CPIC check. If the visit application is denied the reason is given in a written response.

CSC visit approval informs the visitor of days and times for visits. Approval precipitates changes in order to accommodate the visit as the visitor must arrange for time off work, adjust schedules, arrange day-care and consider expenses and travel costs. Visit arrangements must be made with CSC at least twenty-four hours ahead by telephone, subject to the potential for 'lock-downs' which, because they are security related, are not announced ahead of time.

The visitor travels to the facility and once they set foot upon CSC property, everything about that person and his or her possessions becomes subject to Regulations, Policies and Procedures of CSC (Safe Streets and Communities Act 2012; Corrections and Conditional Release Regulations, CCCR, 2012). For example, a vehicle driven onto the site becomes searchable as does anything else taken or carried onto the site, regardless of its nature or purpose, including medical equipment or essential baby-care toiletries. The visitor is admitted to the reception area, where keys and other personal items, like mobile/cell phones, wallets, change purses etc., are placed into a small locker. The visitor is then screened by specially trained dogs, subjected to IMS device screening for drugs or explosives. Jackets and coats are searched by hand, then x-rayed, followed by possible non- intrusive 'pat-down' search of the person conducted by CSC staff of the same gender. Canadian laws and regulations that pertain to these searches are all couched in legal language that enables CSC to search "without individualized suspicion" (Sections 47 (1), and 59 (1), Corrections and Conditional Release Act, S.C. 1992 C.20). The language in that document states: "A staff member may conduct routine non-intrusive searches or routine frisk searches of visitors (or offenders), without individualized suspicion, in the prescribed circumstances, which circumstances must be limited to what is reasonably required for security purposes."

Successful screening allows the visitor to pass into the secure facility for the visit which, in CDA, may be three hours in duration.

During the entry process searches by dogs, IMS devices, 'pat-downs' and x-ray scans of clothing may reveal prohibited items. Most facilities have lists of these prohibited items posted, i.e., information visitors should have received with their visit approval letter. For the new visitor, the inadvertent transport of a forbidden item into a facility is, more often than not, viewed as an attempt to thwart the security process. Some visitors forget that it is their responsibility to be aware of items they have in their possession, as it is their responsibility to know about substances or objects that are prohibited. All people, as a condition of entry, have an obligation to accept that security checks must be carried out for the safety of prison staff, offenders and visitors. The experienced visitor, who may have completely forgotten about the nail file in her or his coat pocket, ends up with a visit refusal. This is the second point at which TE may apply.

The moment a visit refusal situation occurs CSC creates V2 the visitor victim. V2 returns to the reception area where a CSC supervisor will interview her. V2 may attempt to explain the prohibited item or why the IMS device indicated a positive result. The supervisor, who does not exercise power of discretion, has no lee-way whatsoever with the rules and will confirm that the visit is denied. He informs the visitor that future visits will be subject to a VRB hearing. V<sup>2</sup> may complete a Visit Information Form to explain what occurred. This Visit Information Form will be shown to the VRB and at any future parole hearing. There is, however, no legal requirement for the form to be completed. Visits are refused for a variety of reasons; a 'hit' indicated by the IMS for some prohibited substance (the most common problem); possession of forbidden objects; weapons or too much money (Appendix B, Q16).

Occasionally visits are refused because the clothing worn does not comply with acceptable dress standards. Visits are also refused if a person is on parole, within two months of ending parole, has pending charges or a criminal record (S7). Some participants therefore never get to visit (ATI, 2014), until such time as they are tried, deemed not guilty or receive an official pardon.

Visits may be terminated at any time if behaviour is or becomes unacceptable during a visit (S5, S7). The screening of visitors also includes the evaluation of or interpretation of attitudes expressed by the visitor. One misplaced comment by a visitor can stop the visit to a facility (S5, S7), without any immediate process for review.

Security and access issues are included in the themes derived from interviews and the survey. Security issues arise when people try to gain entry to passenger terminals at airports or access to official buildings of any kind, including condominium suites, night clubs, apartment blocks or court rooms. Following routine security processes is an expected societal norm for all people in contemporary communities, and prison visitors are bound by the same expectations.

The nature of this study shows clearly that there are several overlapping areas of interest. Significantly, any impact upon a visitor in one area of concern often has a related concern in another area. Events or actions 'inside' the prison walls, pertaining to relatives or friends, become an important part of the concern(s) to which visitors relate, and these issues in turn generate the need for visits. For example, when an inmate requests that a marriage licence application is sent to an outside agency, it becomes a concern for the relative on the 'outside' if that document is not processed as requested. The relative learns of this during telephone contact and future visits are arranged because of this information exchange or because of the lack of information. It is during personal visits that clarification or explanations may enhance or alleviate those concerns for offenders and visitors. The knowledge that V2 gain about events on the 'inside' also shapes their attitudes.

Events impacting an offender are often not items that one may separate into categories that pertain only to visitors. In order to facilitate a good understanding of the focal points of each interview, points mentioned are examined as though they are areas apart, bearing in mind that in real time, for the participant, items overlap. During interviews V2 have shared painful personal information which clearly indicates, many years after the event, the traumatic impact of some of the security issues during prison visits; issues related to IMS devices and the interaction with prison personnel.

### Survey and Participant Information: A Critical Analysis

Although there is no such thing as an 'average' visitor, analysis of survey responses shows that a 'theoretical average' visitor to prison is most likely to be female, between 45-54 years of age, married, with children under 18 years of age living at home (Appendix B, Q1, 2, 3, 6, 11,18). She drives an 'average' distance of 124 km. to the prison where she visits a family relative other than her husband.

This visitor may not have been refused a visit, but likely would have experienced a 'lock-down' where a visit was either denied or interrupted (Appendix B, Q13). She would be among the group of visitors who visits prison five times a year and each prison visit costs her between \$31-\$60 dollars. She would be among the 51% of visitors who perceive the reception by CSC staff to be very helpful, courteous, respectful and friendly (Appendix B, Q17), in contrast with 15% who have found them to be non- responsive and also non- judgemental, or those 35% who found the staff to be unfriendly, rude, disrespectful, abusive, hostile or not at all helpful.

Moving away from the 'theoretical average visitor', the research participants indicated a wide variety of reasons for visiting. It is significant and in keeping with views expressed in the literature that eighty-four percent (84%) indicated that their relationship is extremely important (Codd, 2013, p. 24; Ainsworth, 1991, p.38) and sixty-six percent (66%) consider visits much better than phone contact. Seventy-nine percent (79%) stated that they had a bond of affection or love, and sixty-nine percent (69%) of respondents needed to see for themselves that he (the offender) is safe.

This is significant when considering family relationships and prison security practices. Visitors are concerned about offender safety (Appendix B, Q24; S10, S11, S13, et al.), most likely because media reports of prison violence extend the stereotypical but false impressions about prison violence being an everyday occurrence (MacCharles, 2012; Harris, 2012; Sawa, 2013; Lupick, 2014).

However, according to Vivar (2014), prison violence does not happen every day but people are given that impression by media reports as explained during interviews by several participants (P4, P16).

All interviews followed the process outlined in Chapter Four, Methods. Interviews began with a 'normal' discourse of welcome and greeting. The first steps, prior to any interview questions being asked, confirmed that every participant was aware of the nature of this study and that each had signed a consent form. All interviews were conducted in a calm and relaxed manner within a comfortable setting, for example, in quiet corners of coffee shops where care was taken to make sure that privacy of the interview was respected. Some interviews were conducted in a library setting, a church hall and, with a third-party present, in a private residence. All participants expressed appreciation for the fact that someone had, at last, listened to their stories about what takes place when a visit is attempted.

Interviews commenced with the open-ended phrase, "Please tell me about your visit experiences starting with how you were greeted by prison staff?" This was usually enough to open the dialogue about the research question. In fact, most participants, once they had started to respond to this open request, did not appear to hold back any information and gave answers with essential information about the research topics.

Two long-distance telephone interviews were conducted, one to Nova Scotia and another to British Columbia. Most interviews took an hour to complete with three of longer duration, lasting over 75 minutes.

On two separate occasions, during face-to-face interviews, the researcher had to stop the process to make sure participants were able to continue because the subject matter was very distressing. One woman, of about forty years, had been physically attacked by her partner, a male of about the same age. She disclosed that her doctor had diagnosed her as suffering from post-traumatic stress disorder subsequent to physical and mental abuse by her partner. At the time of the assault he was arrested, charged, tried and subsequently sentenced to 7 years.

Visits are extremely important to her. She does not want to sever ties with him. She stated that she values face to face conversation so that she can see his reactions and was emphatic that talking on the phone “just does not work”.

She became visibly distraught when she moved into discussion about how other people expressed how she was expected to behave, according to the current wisdom about abusive relationships. [The current wisdom, to which the participant referred, is based upon social workers’ practices and policy in many areas of North America which encourages victims of domestic abuse to stay away from their abusive partners.] She was visibly agitated and “[expletive removed] fed up with people telling her she should stay away from her partner!” I deliberately talked her through this episode and brought the focus back to the less disturbing aspects of prison visits and her plans for the future.

A second participant was upset about the loss of visits related to the IMS device and I had to take a few minutes while she gathered her thoughts before continuing. The example cited here is evidence of the traumatic impact of visit refusal upon a visitor. I believe that information given by the participants during interviews was credible, genuine and heartfelt expression about an individual’s lived experience and worthy to be taken at face value. Survey responses should also be considered to be genuine. There were a few surveys where questions were left unanswered. Some questions were designed with links so that a blank response on one question linked appropriately to other responses about the same issue, that is to say some questions confirmed or negated information of prior questions (Q5 & Q6, Appendix B).

### Participant Characteristics

All interview participants, compared to only 60% of survey respondents, experienced at least one visit refusal. Interview respondents included a para-legal assistant, an engineer, several receptionists, secretaries, waitresses, stay-at-home mothers and a mechanic. Unfortunately, occupations were not sought within the on-line survey. Three participants had children less than twelve years of age. Two other participants were caring for three young children each. Children ranged from 1-18 years of age, with 80% being from 7-12 years of age. Forty-one (41) participants completed the on-line survey (Appendix B). Twenty-one (21) participants shared their information during interviews (Interview Participant profiles, Appendix C).

### Themes

The identification of major themes developed over time, and were modified as repeated readings of the data took place. Specific comments from participants are identified, for example (P1, P2, etc., for Interview participants, and S1, S2 etc., for Survey participants, with 'SI' for both areas. Survey Questions are labelled, Q1-Q24). For simplicity of presentation, Survey responses are also identified by the percentage of the survey group responding and three participant labels). The critical analysis of Interview and Survey responses joins qualitative and quantitative aspects of this research.

Where the qualitative interview information differs from quantitative survey information it is identified so that the reader may make his or her own comparison(s).

Each section below contains separate incidents which are related to a common theme. A summary of Theme content then follows. The analysis of statement content has revealed information highlighting themes, which are presented in the following order: **Attitudes and Feelings Towards Prison Staff; Administration and Perceptions of CSC Staff during Screening Processes; Time wasted; IMS Devices; Lock- downs; Economic Impact of Visiting; Break up of Family; Safety, Loss of Control and Inconsistency of CSC staff actions; Human Rights.**

Most words used to describe prison staff would be identified as having negative meanings in terms of social interactions. Theoretically these words could be said to derive from the emotional impact that incarceration has upon separated family members, they are the real- life descriptors presented by V2 about a cadre of people (CSC and HMPS staff) who work in a very difficult job.

Significantly, there is no comparative data base of normal language used by participants against which one might compare the frequency of use of descriptive vocabulary (including expletives) when applied to another situation. Would the responses be the same if police officers, who represent uniformed state authority, were described? Would the same vocabulary and similar emotional disposition take place if all participants were asked about school and teachers, as an example?

Although the researcher has every reason to believe that the comments made during research interviews are valid and honest, there is no baseline of normal language used by this group against which one might compare the type of words in everyday use by these participants, and there is also no baseline against which the researcher may consider the integrity of statements.

It is acknowledged that the participants came forward to be interviewed of their own volition, which may be indicative of a sincerity to contribute to resolving some of the issues they face as each visits a prison. That the participants do not know of or about each other nor about other peoples' responses lends strength to the independence and sincerity of statements made.

In the opinions of V2 there is no doubt that the staff of CSC bears the brunt of blame for causing annoyance and disruption of planned visits. Visit refusal produces strong feelings of animosity in V2 directed towards prison staff. Research notes consistently show that, without doubt, all participants were angry and very upset. The emotional language used with reference to the screening process and subsequent visit denial quite clearly indicates that it is, for some, traumatic.

The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, DSM V, (APA, 2013), states that “Trauma is an emotional response to a terrible event like an accident, an assault, a rape or a natural disaster. Longer term reactions include unpredictable emotions, flashbacks, strained relationships and even physical symptoms like headaches or nausea. While these feelings are normal, some people have difficulty moving on with their lives.” Significantly both the DSM IV and V (APA, 1994, p. 463; DSM V, 2013) add the following criteria, “The person’s response to the event must involve intense fear, helplessness, or horror (or in children, the response must involve disorganized or agitated behaviour)”.

It is clear that participants have a sense of helplessness because they are unable to immediately challenge visit refusal decisions; visitors are not given any options by CSC personnel and they must leave the screening area. Even when interviewed by supervisory staff there are few choices available; one may fill in a government form explaining why entry was refused, and then if the supervisor will not re-instate the visit as a ‘designated seating’ or ‘closed’ visit, the only option is to leave. The distinction here is that a ‘designated’ seating visit places the visitor close to the staff observation desk, or a ‘closed’ visit has a physical barrier between the visitor and the offender, usually a window partition provided with communication equipment.

It would appear that CSC supervisory staff are not given, or choose not to use, much discretion with regard to how these exit interviews are conducted. For the visitor, the supervisor’s interview seems only to lead in one direction, out of the building. As described by V2, visit refusal is an experience which produces emotional discomfort that is relived each and every time when V2 returns for another visit.

Visiting becomes more and more difficult and stressful with each new visit attempt. This stress is made worse when they see others being turned away. The last thing V2 want is another visit denial, and almost at any point in the entry things may go wrong.

Nanograms of prohibited substances are not visible to the naked eye, but may be found in or on clothing and could come from proximate sources. Just being near someone, for example, in a coffee shop or on a bus, could enable the transfer of prohibited substance residue that sets off IMS devices. There is little a visitor may do that will guarantee a clean passage through the entry process, with the possible exception of wearing freshly cleaned clothing, no jewellery and having completely empty pockets, as noted in several examples below. Most participants were able to hold their anger in check as we talked, but the choice of words used to express feelings related to prison staff, by some participants, was not necessarily polite. Often comments were derogatory or rude. The anger appears to have been caused by many things which combine to create a general feeling of discomfort and stress and, in some cases, depression for participant visitors.

A former inmate related that she had problems with the attitude of CSC staff, which seemed to come across as ‘all who visit are potential problems’. When she (P14) made her first visit he was treated as though she was still an offender and she had to remind

CSC staff that she was now a free woman. Although she had no further concerns she stated that CSC Staff always have an attitude that comes with the job, “they are in control and they know it”.

She very strong with her opinion, and although this perception of CSC staff may exist because of this individual’s previous incarceration, it was not that different from views held by others, all of whom expressed that they knew who was in charge once they set foot on CSC property.

Administration and Perceptions of CSC Staff during Screening Processes  
Staff practices at some reception areas are inconsistent (Appendix B, Q17). Even taking into account the variety of personalities that work in those areas, there is no evident standard manner of welcome. Some people are seen to be treated politely. On occasion, it appears that others are addressed as though they are on a parade square and the reception offered comes across as very “off-handed, matter of fact and uncaring” (P5). As an example, when some visitors arrived early for a visit they were told to leave. They were specifically told not to wait in their cars, but should drive off the property, even if it’s only for twenty-minutes or less. This occurred in spite of the fact that small waiting rooms exist at each facility.

Understandably from the CSC security perspective, it is good security practice not to have people waiting in cars at minimum security facilities. However, the instruction was passed on to visitors as a directive with no explanation. The obliging visitor had no choice but to drive away and wait off-site. The screening process, as it relates to the work ethic of CSC staff, earned little respect from participants. The perception of CSC staff is that they are: “lazy” (P1) “self-serving” (P5), “insincere” (P21), “inconsiderate wasted time” (P12), “not concerned about you” (P13), and “you feel like you were an annoyance to them” (P20). These comments, from 60% of the group contrast markedly with several others where CSC personnel were described as “pleasant” (P8), “hospitable and understanding” (P7). Forty-four percent of contacts (Appendix B, Q17) are grouped as “unwelcoming”; visitors are made to feel that they are “not deserving of a visit” and “a nuisance that disturbs their [prison staff] day” (P5). Some CSC staff are described by numerous participants as “uncaring”, “judgemental”, “cold”, “incompetent” and even “hostile” (Appendix B, Q17). In the words of one respondent, “You are greeted coolly because they have a job to do” (P9) and, as described by another individual, (P12), “Staff was indignant, cold and inhospitable”. A significant difference in approach was noted when her offender partner was moved to a different facility where different staff welcomed her in a very positive way and the staff there were described as “kind, warm and most hospitable”.

The differences in the CSC approach, described by the participants, could be attributed to many things with the only common component being the participant. There is no way of knowing how a participant presented herself. The facilities were both of medium level security and policies and procedures should therefore have been the same in both places.



Remarks about prison staff made by today's participants (2016) have been observed and written about by Warr (2008, p.22), "For years, I held to the 'Four I's Theory' to explain the behaviour and attitudes of staff: I was convinced that all actions undertaken by officers were determined by Ignorance, Indifference, Idleness and Incompetence." Although offenders may not be aware of the 'Four I's Theory', it reflects a common attitude towards the staff around them, according to their visitors. My understanding of responses from V2 is that the Four 'I's theory is an accurate description of how some participants feel about CSC staff.

Information reported to the researcher and confirmed by a confidential informant (CI), indicates that Parole Officers record denied visits on the record of the offender (CD, 2012, 566-8-1, 31a, 32a). That information is used when Parole Hearings are scheduled. On the face of it, the refusal of a visit has nothing to do with the offender, but that information could damage an offender's chance at gaining parole. This action clearly comes under the definition of a 'dirty trick' (Pincher, 1991, p.2), where it is carried out surreptitiously.

The 'dirty trick' is played by CSC staff, who know of the consequences of positive IMS readings but fail to tell visitors that, through no fault of the offender, the visitor has now damaged the offender's record. The visitor is never told, before a visit, that this potential exists. For a visitor to attempt to visit and be refused should not be on an offender's record.

This 'dirty trick' aspect is particularly worrisome since the visitor may be, in some cases, the only person who could best provide support when the offender is applying for parole, yet the denied visit casts a shadow of suspicion upon the nature of the visitor, which in turn may impede a positive parole outcome. It is an official "Catch-22" situation.

This practice turns visiting into a hazard for the offender. It could not possibly be viewed as a positive way of encouraging visits in order to provide support and exemplifies a complete disconnect between the CSC official stated support for family relationships and CSC practices which, when followed, undermine that concept of support for families. The primary role of prison staff is now security: security of prisoners, staff and visitors.

Observation of prison staff actions shows that there appears to be an unfortunate disjoint between caring for people and their security, compared to caring for security with little or no concern for people. As mentioned earlier in Chapter One, V2 are created by the manner in which citizens are treated by CSC staff (Comfort, 2008, p. 21). The visitor is another person to be controlled. For V2 there appears to be inconsistent, even random and illogical interpretation of rules about what may be taken inside on a visit, when one may visit, whether or not the jacket has to be removed, how much loose change one may have, etc. This causes stress and doubt about how things work. Published visiting times, for example, do not truly reflect when one may actually visit. More often than not, there are times when prison staff

begins to locate the offender after the screening process, which takes away from actual face-to-face visiting time.

Given that visits are booked at least 24 hours ahead of time, as required by prison regulations, CSC staff know which offenders should be made aware of the visitor's presence, allowing the offender to be nearby. However, on many occasions visitors have to wait for an offender to arrive in the visit area, and face-to-face visiting time is lost. One has to ask, why this approach seems to be prevalent, especially when visits are known about beforehand? There is no immediate, satisfactory resolution when a visit is denied. Many V2 have no knowledge of where to turn to for help and CSC staff offer no assistance in this regard.

The process with which the visitor is supposed to comply is exclusionary since V2 cannot communicate with their offender family when they are denied entry. Most visitors would like to inform their family of the circumstance themselves but CSC staff does not allow contact, by phone, with the incarcerated family or friend. To allow direct conversation while the visitor is on the property would constitute a "visit". This denial of communications adds to the feelings of frustration and anger.

Administrative issues cause frustration and annoyance because CSC personnel are, according to P16, perceived as "taking their sweet time" about getting things done. For some V2 there is a failure of CSC to respond to visitors' written applications in a timely manner given that most participants complete and send forms back to CSC as soon as they are received. In some cases, documents have taken up to four months to be reviewed by CSC and sent back to participants. One example was of an application for a marriage licence, sent by an offender in Saskatchewan to the local authorities in Saskatoon. Although this administrative matter is not directly related to visit arrangements, the document did not leave the penitentiary for at least four weeks, until the offender complained that no response had been received. He mentioned this to his fiancé (P16) in a phone conversation, and it then became an issue for her as the visitor. When she followed up by telephone, she was advised that the form had recently been sent to Saskatoon. This delay upset and frustrated the visitor and her partner as their marriage plans could not be made. No explanation was ever obtained from CSC for the delay. All that had been asked was for a form to be reviewed and sent onwards, which merely required placing a form into an envelope, addressing that and posting it. The participant believes that CSC staff lied about not processing the form, although there is no information to substantiate this claim. There was also no way of knowing if other administrative matters were given a higher priority at that time causing the delay.

## **Time wasted**

Visits are required to be booked ahead of time, with a minimum of 24 hours' notice. Prison staff knows that, with few exceptions, visitors are planning on being at a facility on the appointed day at the start of visiting hours. Upon arrival visitors sign the register, starting the entry process. Visitors often have to wait, what seems to them to be an inordinate amount of time, for the entry process to be completed and they do get frustrated. Some have had to wait more than 30 minutes for the drug detection dog team to show up and perform its screening routine.

Others have had to wait until staff could locate an offender, for example, one participant was told after waiting for 45 minutes, that "he [the offender] could not be found", which is a disturbing situation that illustrates poor management or poor organization. CSC staff did not, on that occasion, provide any consideration of an extension to scheduled visit time, so the visitor, after a 4-hour drive to get to the facility and the subsequent loss of visiting time was very angry. Although subsequent visits for that participant have gone well, this is indicative that the well-being of V2 is not considered a priority by CSC.

Lack of consideration is exemplified, in the common concern expressed by participants, that CSC staff does not seem to care about the wasted time that they cause for V2. It is as though those who guard the offenders, who are serving time, have no sense of time.

This applies when a visit is cancelled over some security or IMS device issue that arises. V2 expressed resentment over time that has then been wasted in travel to and from a facility. Time is also wasted, when a refusal is pronounced, by V2 having to wait for a supervisor to attend and conduct an interview. Wasted time is a major factor that creates the resentment felt towards CSC staff.

The delays and the cancellation of visits are symptomatic of a system that does appear to place caring for people as a priority. The entry screening process is, according to one participant (P6), a process that is "upsetting from the moment you step inside the front door when it noisily shuts behind you and you hear the bolts slam shut".

## **IMS Devices, "Damned Machines!"**

What appears to be the greatest emotional upset for participants is caused by use of the IMS device, which has stopped or delayed entry for all interviewed participants and for 60% of survey respondents. Research notes indicate that the IMS device is the most disruptive tool within the screening process and significantly IMS devices are prone to giving false- positive readings (SCA, 2001, p.8). As an example of this, one elderly couple in their late 60s, who together usually visit their son, were separated when the IMS scanner indicated a hit for prohibited substances for the husband. They had stopped at a restaurant on the way to the visit and the husband had paid the bill.

The husband had a positive IMS reading. He is a gentleman with a heart condition and uses prescription medications which are not allowed in prison. Residue from these may have caused his positive IMS reading. He was so upset that he drove to a hospital and had a complete drug screening test done. He was tested for more than 18 kinds of prohibited drugs, and none were detected. With results in hand, indicating no contact with prohibited drugs and with a letter, signed by his doctor, explaining his use of prescription drugs, he returned to the facility the next day. CSC staff refused to let him enter.

He wrote to the Parole Officer and appealed to be allowed to visit his son. The response was a form letter indicating when the VRB would be held. His efforts had made no difference whatsoever. He was extremely upset by "their attitude about his concerns".

CSC staff used no discretion when dealing with this individual and the VRB process was the only option presented: there appears to be no flexibility allowed or used by CSC staff. In contrast, according to Liebling (2010,p.156.) prison officers of HMPS often use discretion in their work in order to achieve better relationships and to make the prison system work efficiently. Although Liebling does not relate that view directly to how people are screened in the UK, the use of discretion by CSC staff would appear to be considerably less in terms of how they deal with visitors.

False statements by CSC staff about prior IMS readings produced arguments with one participant (P16) about visiting status. She was told that she could not visit because the IMS indicated the presence of Morphine and this was the second time such a hit had occurred. The visitor had no memory of ever being stopped before, so this statement was contested. After a heated discussion, the visitor was eventually allowed to visit, but visiting time had been lost due to the delay and the feelings of dissatisfaction with the process have not abated. Other V2 have protested the IMS readings, to no avail. They were just told to leave.

There are several examples of participants who change into a special set of clothing for visits in order to pass the IMS screening without incident. P12 is a practicing Muslim who does not smoke, drink alcohol or take drugs. She was very upset by the IMS device alert which indicated the presence of opioids, even though moments before, the drug detection dog had found nothing. She says she is frustrated because she does not know how to stop this IMS device indicating that she has drugs. Before visiting she showers, washes her rings, does not stop for gasoline or coffee en-route. She disinfects her IDs, doesn't touch door handles or even use the washrooms in the waiting area. She feels very stressed when she and her three children go through the entry routine, and in spite of all precautionary efforts the IMS device indicated opioids, methamphetamines and heroin on the next visit attempt even when the drug detecting dogs had found nothing.

This second negative hit then, because of administrative sanctions, restricts open visits to 'designated seating', making her feel more stressed about visiting. P4, has taken to having a special set of clothing, everything including underwear to one pair of shoes just so that she can "beat the lonscanner".

P5 was stopped as he drove onto the CSC property. His car was searched by the dog, then he was searched. Nothing was detected. He drove 100 feet, parked his car, and entered the facility and the IMS device indicated a positive hit. His visit was then refused. Since then he refuses to wear anything different when attempting to visit; no jewellery, no rings and no wrist-watch. His clothing is washed the night before and he makes no stops along the route. In this way, he avoids the possibility of the inadvertent transfer of substances onto his clothing. So far (2016), these participants have been successful with their efforts and have avoided further IMS hits.

It is confusing for visitors when the drug detection dogs have not indicated the presence of any prohibited substances and the IMS then registers a positive signal. CSC staff refuse entry if either the drug-detection dogs or the IMS devices indicate positively for the presence of drugs. The question then becomes why use two systems because there is a cost to doing that?

Dog-handlers are paid more per hour than 'regular' CSC staff and IMS machines are expensive to run and maintain. The real costs, emotional and financial are borne, not only by the tax-payers, but by visitors denied entry.

The researcher has seen, with the assistance of a CI, a confidential internal document signed by 260+ offenders that grieves the use of IMS devices by CSC. Without exception, all of the points listed in research field notes for this study are substantiated by these 260+ people. The grievance outlines areas of concern including; inadvertent drug contact, operator training, false-positive readings, negative effects upon visitors, CSC administrative measures following negative IMS readings, consequences for inmates, effects upon prison volunteers and visitors and the refusal of CSC staff to use alternative methods to ameliorate IMS negative outcomes. As an alternative to IMS negative readings which prevent visits, more than one participant visitor has offered and consented to be searched in order to facilitate a visit. Some have offered to be strip-searched as proof of their non-use, non-conveyance of prohibited drugs. CSC staff has consistently refused to strip-search visitors as a 'work around' the IMS device. Since the regulations permit such searches, one is tempted to ask why do CSC staff avoid doing this? Is it a way of keeping control in place?

If a strip-search was to reveal that a participant had no drug contact, would that mean CSC has, by default, confirmed no need for IMS devices? Since the screening process would not be compromised if a visitor was to be searched, it is difficult to understand why CSC staff do not use this provision of the regulations. It would enable visits to take place or show definitively why a visit should not take place and in either case it would be open and fair to all concerned. It has been noted by V2 that CSC staff often,

as a matter of practice, strip-search offenders subsequent to open visits.

Drugs of all kinds are a concern because CSC/HMPS have their own lists of prohibited drugs. Contact with 'ordinary' over-the-counter pharmaceuticals causes issues for visitors. The CSC lists of drugs include many legal prescription medications. For example, on the prison list ibuprofen, paracetamol, aspirin and anti-histamines are prohibited. The CSC/HMPS list of banned substances may serve the interests of safety within a prison, perhaps as a means of preventing misuse or self-harm for offenders, but this prohibited drug list is not made known to visitors who may have handled a 'headache pill' before a visit.

CSC/HMPS staff knows about this issue but, for some unknown reason does support visitors by advising them about prohibited drug lists. Placing a list of all prohibited drugs into an information package when visit approval is granted would be a simple and positive way to make sure visitors were informed. Perhaps this is not done because visits are not seen as a priority by prison staff. Inadvertent transfer of drug residue from money, coin or bank-note often causes a negative IMS reading and the cancellation of a visit.

One has to question why the CSC does not advise V2 of this issue before people appear at the entrance. Is this indicative of poor management or that the focus of the organization is upon one issue, that of security concerns?

The CSC screening system appears to be inflexible. The slightest deviation from the rules causes approximately 32000 people to be turned away each year. On the face of it one might say that CSC is keeping prisons safe. The other side of that thought may indicate that there is a culture of behaviours amongst prison staff that is protective, through a prison officer code of behaviours (Kauffman, 1988, cited by Leibling, 2010 p.161), whereby prison officers are perceived to 'have the backs' of their fellows under all circumstances.

There is a cost to security measures that may not become evident until they are examined. Given that people enjoy living in a safe environment, when do stringent safety measures impede the enjoyment of that safety? The circularity of the argument is the problem. If prison security measures are stringent, either by design or interpretation, where does one draw the line between that which is safe and that which is 'reasonable and enjoyably safe'? Is there a point that may satisfy security and comfort levels at the same time, i.e., where security and reasonable access may be balanced? Perhaps the answer lies in an interpretation that in common law is understood to be action taken by a 'reasonable person'. What is a 'reasonable' application of security measures that will allow families to visit in safety?

Is it reasonable to deny the visit of a 65-year-old father or mother with their son, or to deny a young woman the use of lipstick while she is visiting her incarcerated boyfriend? Is it reasonable to deny a young woman a visit because of her manner of dress or to deny a visit based upon a perceived attitude expressed by a visitor? At the present time (2016) it would appear that the answer to the above questions is "Yes!"

All interviewed participants and 78% of survey respondents have, at one time or another, been told by CSC staff that the IMS device has indicated the presence of banned substances and their visits have been cancelled. Where some have admitted that they have used drugs in the past, all have stated, in confidence, that they have not used prohibited drugs for more than six months.

While it is acknowledged that safety and security are important concerns for everyone, the application of security procedures allows for no use of discretion by corrections staff. If an IMS positive reading is valid, it may have detected a nanogram of a prohibited substance. In this circumstance, it is completely illogical for corrections staff to assume that you may render harm to anybody. The conditions necessary to extract a nanogram of a substance from clothing, leather or another personal article would be the provision of a chemistry laboratory with sophisticated equipment, and the training about how to do that. Given that an average person, without any such equipment, could not extract a miniscule amount of a prohibited substance and render harm to others, one must ask why these IMS devices continue to be used, since it is acknowledged by Corrections Canada that IMS machines are over-sensitive and give false positive readings. What V2 state as most annoying is the fact that these unreliable machines are used at all.

Most CSC personnel know about the poor working of the IMS devices and the perception is that they remain silent. To make matters worse, information from a CI (2016), relates that it is commonly known amongst offenders that CSC personnel are no longer scanned by the IMS device because of the multitude of false-positive readings for on-duty prison staff. This information is also known to participants. There appears to be a 'code of silence' with reference to the IMS devices (CI, 2016) which may indicate that CSC staff knows this device is not the most effective tool to prevent the entry of drugs.

Even the Correctional Inspector, Howard Sapers, has stated that family visits are not the primary source of contraband making its way inside and yet the IMS device is still in use. One has to question why CSC has not, as far as may be determined, withdrawn the IMS devices from use. Given that CSC has published Internal Audits related to operational practices and the IMS devices (CSC-IA, 2006, s.4.3), where it clearly stated that IMS Devices policy and procedures were not being followed. The examples cited included the observations that: a verification that the operators are not contaminated was not always done; correct cleaning supplies were not available; the sample area, where testing is done, was not cleaned prior to conducting a swipe and, in one institution more than two swipes were conducted though the policy only allows for two swipes and as the researcher has seen, gloves were not always worn by operators. In spite of this Audit document and the obvious failures of CSC personnel to follow proper procedures, it appears that rejecting 32000 people every year, mainly because of the IMS device, is acceptable in the eyes of the Correctional Service of Canada.

Training of CSC staff, based on this report, would appear to have been inadequate or improperly understood, and ten years later (2016) the devices are still being used. In the words of one participant (P16), IMS devices are “Damned machines that serve no legitimate purpose!”

In contrast, it should be noted that not one participant complained about the detector-dogs, what they do or how they are used. Even those who admitted that they do not like dogs stated that they were “OK” with them doing their job. Instead of the IMS devices most would prefer to have the drug-detection dogs used, “at least they are friendly!”

### **Lock-downs**

The ‘lockdown’ is an unavoidable annoyance that wastes or removes visiting time and, by default, indirectly imposes additional cost to the visitor. A few participants were given notice of a lock-down before their visit (S16), but that is the exception. Most of the 62% who have experienced this situation were given no warning and lost an opportunity to visit. Of that group 90% were not informed when the lock-down was over so that their visits could be re-scheduled (Appendix B, Q13,14, 15).

### **Economic Impact of Visiting**

Approximately 75% of visitors travel by car. Because of distance, 13% take airplanes and taxis and/ or buses. A small group (3%) use free transport provided by the John Howard Society which is the only transport that does not impose additional costs. The cost of visiting, for 50% of Survey and Interview (SI) participants exceeds \$91.00 (Appendix B, Q22).

A few (19%) pay more than \$201.00 to visit, primarily because of distance and necessary accommodation. As an example, much is dependent upon the timing of a journey; one participant travelling from Ontario to Saskatchewan expends funds for child care, plane travel, taxi fare and accommodation. The scheduled visiting hours necessitate staying overnight upon arrival, then transport to and from the facility. After the visit, flight schedules may require that a second night’s accommodation is necessary. All of these items add to her financial burden, and there is no compensatory plan should a visit be refused by CSC for any reason. Whether or not there should be compensation, for costs incurred when visits are refused, is a discussion that would bring to the fore the concerns of visitors and the relationship they have with CSC. The remaining participants (30%) have costs under \$90.00. These costs are viewed, by some participants, as being “worth the expense to see my guy”, and by others as one more annoyance that has to be tolerated.

### **Breakup of Family**

Participants’ relationships with family members are extremely important as indicated by 82% of respondents and noted by Parkes, Stevenson-Hinde & Marris (2006) and Bernardes (2008) in the literature about family relationships. There are many reasons that explain why people visit their friends and relatives and survey respondents chose multiple answers to show this (Appendix B. Q24).



Responses indicate the significance of each item and comments from the survey support this: “I feel it is essential that he’s still loved and cared about. It doesn’t condone what he did, he needs support to be able to change”(S41); “It is important to our relationship ... to know that I strengthen and support him and will continue to” (S26); “Reintegration into society is important to me for this person so I work hard to keep the connection going” (S38) and, “It’s important to get news about life in the world, keep up with what is happening, be in touch with family members” (P21). One comment appears to sum up a lot of what participants have to say; “I am his bridge to community/information, resources and hope”(S41).

Maintaining relationships was found to be by far the most significant issue for participants. Of the reasons given for visiting;

- 66% indicate the importance of their relationship with the offender (S17, S19, S22, et al), and
- 33% visit because the family or the offender expects them to do so (S10, S11, S40 et al), and
- 25% are the only visitor the offender has (S20, S21, S27, et al), and
- 20% state that they are the best friend that the offender has (S19, S25, S34 et al), and
- 14% visit for the sake of the children (S21, S23, S38 et al), and
- 11% feel obliged to visit or because nobody else cares (S7, S8, S21, S29, et al), and significantly
- 68% consider a visit to be much better than a phone call (S30, S32, S34 et al).

These findings, about family relationships (Appendix B, Q24), are very similar to those found in the literature and described by Christian, Mellow and Shenique (2006,p.443) and Braman (2009, p.38).

The scope of this research does not enter the social-psychology dynamic of intra-family, inter-family or inter-personal relationships, but it raises interesting questions when people visit ‘because they are expected to’. It points out that visits are significant to the larger group of family members, represented by the visitor who acts as an ambassador for the entire family, a factor which is invisible to corrections authorities. The invisible family, whose visiting ‘ambassador’ is turned away at the gate, may explain why V2 get so deeply upset, as was clearly evident during interviews. Where not all V2 will be ambassadors, when CSC denies a visit for a single V2 they may, in fact, be denying the larger family’s contact with their relative and friend, the offender.

Interviews also revealed that, for some V2, there is an ongoing worry about what might happen if the visits stopped. This is best expressed by the question: would the offender give up hope and not bother to resume the relationship when he gets out? Some V2 were concerned that, if visits were less frequent, the relationship would be broken by the time the sentence is ended.

When asked why their visits would be fewer, the response was that visits are “such a hassle!” (P12, P8). Further query determined that the ‘hassle’ included everything from travel, costs, prison screening and organizing things for a visit is not a simple process.

### **Safety, Loss of Control and the Inconsistency of CSC staff actions**

Every interviewed person felt strongly that they had a need to stay in touch and to be able to see for themselves that their relative was safe. Several mentioned that they hear of incidents in prisons on the radio or television and that upsets them because they cannot phone to check with their incarcerated relative; phone calls may not be made into a facility. This places visitors into a position where they have no access to their relative and this is very stressful. 72% indicated that this was a concern; “I need to see that he is safe” (S33, S35, S38 et al). There is a CSC policy to notify relatives in case of ‘serious’ medical emergencies, but, for security reasons CSC does not generally inform relatives when an offender is moved to a hospital for ‘routine’ non-emergency treatment. If an offender is hospitalised for any reason, the offender then has no phone and cannot phone to inform relatives, and the visitor has no ability to contact an offender.

Participants relate how telephone calls are monitored. Investigation of this reveals that phones are monitored with an audio computer algorithm so that the telephone automatically hangs-up when a third party comes onto the line. For example, a wife is talking and her daughter picks up an extension to join the talk with her incarcerated father, the phone cuts out. The algorithm restrictions do not allow an extension phone to be used at the same time. This means that an offender then has to call out again to his approved phone number to complete his conversation, and the family may not talk together over the phone as group. This TE is frustrating for visitors and is symptomatic of the power exercised by the corrections system over visitors and families on the outside.

Participants may not call into a facility in order to speak to their family member, the offender has to call out to them, and it must be to an ‘authorized residential number’. An offender’s list of phone numbers is screened by Corrections staff to make sure that the numbers relate to listed and approved resident’s home phones. No commercial numbers are allowed. Adding another phone number to the offenders’ list of approved numbers requires CSC personnel to verify that the new number is legitimately registered to an individual on an approved visitor list. The process can take days to accomplish. The phone has undoubtedly become part of TE that is fully controlled by CSC. It is another restriction over the lives of visitors and offenders that may seem unfair, but it is designed to prevent contact with vulnerable people, victims and witnesses or victims’ families.

The purpose of custody is, in part, to prevent further crime. Allowing free contact, without supervision, could undermine that custodial purpose. None the less, it is evident from journal notes that there is frustration for offenders' families about the lack of the ability to communicate with an offender. If the family relationship is to have support because of its importance and not be taken for granted, as mentioned in the literature on families (Codd 2008, p.23; Ainsworth,1991, p.38). The ability to contact family members must be maintained with reasonable contact provisions bearing in mind the need for security.

A visit from a relative or friend is one of only two areas over which offenders have partial control. Offenders may choose who is on their visitor list and their contact list within some limits, for example, contact with people possibly associated with crime, as determined by CSC through CPIC checks, are prohibited. The only other area offenders may control, to some extent, is what they eat. The sense of being in control, the sense that a person has the power to control some aspect of his or her life makes prison more bearable for the offender (Maier & Watkins, 1998, cited by Hood, 2012, p.167).

To what extent this is reasonable is a somewhat contentious issue. The purpose of incarceration is to remove freedom, to remove that control. Ironically, the success of a corrections system is based on the idea that people may be rehabilitated, reformed and returned to society, and that is to restore control and freedom to an offender whilst providing support to enable successful reintegration. Much of that support comes from enhancing contact with family and friends through visits and greater contact. From the visitors' point of view, the perspective is similar in many ways because visitors lose control as soon as they set foot on prison property. They lose control over all aspects of the visit.

When the visitor arrives at the Corrections facility and the visit then becomes denied, there are a variety of reactions. Although specific details of every visitor's expectations will vary, research shows that many become angry because they have travelled some distance, and because of entry refusal have lost that time, spent money on travel and find that there is now a large emotional gap that cannot be filled as they are turned away. All the anticipatory hope and expectations that come with a visit are denied at the door. The visitor, directed by prison staff, never even gets to see the offender when he or she is turned away with the children who will undoubtedly wonder why they cannot see their family member.

Inconsistencies of action by CSC staff are not unusual. As an example, P5 was appointed by a judge as sole surety for his partner who had been arrested and incarcerated. The judge knew of P5's pending assault charge, but expected P5 to be able to meet with and escort his female partner to court designated external counselling sessions on behalf of the Crown. P5 was denied visits because he had a pending assault charge. Appealing that decision resulted in continued visit refusals and the surety role was never fulfilled by P5. This example, although unusual, clearly indicates poor communication between the Court and the prison system.

Another example of inconsistency arose over lipstick, which became a focal point of a very heated discussion between CSC staff and P18. At the entrance P18 was told that having her lipstick was “OK”, but when seated in the closed visiting area she used her lipstick to refresh her appearance, whereupon another staff member declared that she had a forbidden item, confiscated the lipstick and told her to leave. P18, upset, quite vigorously protested the inconsistency. An argument ensued. P18 was escorted out of the facility and subsequently told that she could not visit for six months because of the fuss that she made. This indicates a poor level of staff training about clear communication between staff members and the consistent application of rules as it also illustrates the imbalance of power between CSC staff and visitors.

## **Human Rights**

Some participants expressed that they were not sure of their right to visit. Notably in CDA and the UK offenders have right to have visitors (CCRR, 2012; Loucks, 2000). However, Visit Application forms clearly give the impression that this ‘privilege’ is strictly at the discretion of the authorities and may be rescinded at any time. The ‘right’ to have visits, that an offender has in law, becomes a controlled ‘privilege’ for the visitor. Visitors strongly believe that they have the right to visit their relatives, when in law they do not in practice.

Exceptional power is exercised by staff of CSC/HMPS to the extent that it impinges upon Human Rights. The United Nations (UN) brought human rights firmly into the sphere of international recognition through the UN Charter of 1945. The purposes of the UN included, in Article 1, (3), “the promotion and encouragement of human rights and fundamental freedoms. Member States are therefore committed to ‘joint and separate action’ to create ‘conditions of stability and well-being’ across the world, which includes the promotion of ‘universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion’.” This was followed by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR), proclaimed in Paris, France in 1948. It has become the moral reference document of International Courts and governments as a basis for Human Rights rules and regulations of most Western Nations, but it was not until 1976 that the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights gave legal status to the UDHR (British Library Board, 2016). Unfortunately, it appears that these documents often suffer more from being ignored than by being followed. Post UDHR it has become clear that human rights could no longer be considered as just a domestic issue, hidden behind the veil of State sovereignty. The UN has been instrumental in establishing the Human Rights standard for all member states.

The ‘caveat’ used by nation states, when developing their own laws, is that UDHR is not a formal treaty that binds a nation to follow it, even though it would be the morally correct thing to do.

State sovereignty continues today (2016), to play a crucial role in relation to the enforcement of human rights. The 'Achille's heel' of global human rights still appears to be the fact that Human Rights documents are not formal Conventions and are not binding upon nation states (Loucks, 2000, p.13.). The "Standard Minimum Rules for the Treatment of Prisoners" (SMR), have evolved to become the European Prison Rules and are now known as the Nelson Mandela Rules(NMR).

The application of these rules, for V2, is not as prescribed by the UN, but rather they remain subject to local interpretation that suits the need for security issues above all else. As an example, NMR, Section 37, entitled 'Contact with the outside world', states that, "Prisoners shall be allowed under necessary supervision to communicate with their family and reputable friends at regular intervals, both by correspondence and by receiving visits." The 'necessary supervision' appears to be interpreted by CSC as a right to intrude into every aspect of communication that an offender or his/her family might use. All letters are screened by CSC except those from lawyers. Mail is never received unopened by offenders, and gifts, even brand-new books, are returned to the sender or thrown out. Any article that has the potential to absorb chemicals is rejected for safety reasons. Conversation at a visitor's table and telephone calls are monitored. Video recording takes place in the visit room. These things are all part of the package of control that annoys some participants and which they consider unfair and unjustified.

One of the most obvious aspects of a prison sentence in Canada and the UK is the deliberate restriction placed upon visits to offenders by family, children and friends. To be fair, for logistical reasons, most corrections institutions in Canada could not handle all the relatives and friends of the prison population at one time. It makes sense to have some scheduling restrictions in order to maintain security and safety at a corrections facility and to give reasonable visiting opportunities to as many as possible. The nature of these scheduling restrictions, from the Correctional officer's point of view, is that they are both necessary and reasonable. From the visitor's viewpoint, the restrictions are unfair and not well managed. As an example, visits may occur on Fridays, Saturdays, Sunday and Mondays at a facility. For some reason not made known to V2, these visit days may be changed without notice.

Where this may seem to be a small item, families have to plan ahead for time off work, baby-sitting and other domestic arrangements related to visiting. Changing the visit day may cause inconvenience or even prevent visits. It may be very significant for some families whose lives focus around supporting their incarcerated relative. The scheduling issue is not the most important concern, for V2, denial of visits is paramount. The denial of contact with family members contravenes information that CSC and HMPS place on official websites and violates the Human Rights of offenders and V2 (UNICEF, 1989, Art. 9(3); UNDOC 1999, p.9).

Current review (August, 2016), of the CSC website shows that the family is not mentioned as being an important component in the lives of offenders. The CSC video representing 16000 men and women working in 57 institutions, 84 parole offices, national and regional headquarters across Canada, claims that CSC staff respect the dignity of individuals and the rights of all members of society including prison visitors. Participants interviewed for this research would definitely not agree with any such claims. V2 would argue that the denial of visits is a fundamental breach of Human Rights which includes the right to be associated with their partners and loved ones.

The European Convention on Human Rights, Article 6 (2), clearly states that “Everyone charged with a criminal offence shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law”, and under the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (Part I of the Constitution Act, 1982, 11d), it clearly states that, “Everyone has the right to be presumed innocent until proven guilty according to law in a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal”.

The CSC policy of refusing a person’s visit because of a pending charge, ironically, violates one of the fundamental principles of law in Canada. For some inexplicable reason CSC refuses admission for ‘security and safety’ reasons, the same reasons used for almost every control aspect of a visitors’ contact within a prison. For many visitors, who live with the stigma of having a relative or friend in prison, the pre-approved prison visit does not resemble the routine visit described at the beginning of this chapter.

The screening process, designed to protect CSC staff, offenders and visitors, causes stress and concern for visitors. Visitor interaction with CSC staff varies, dependent upon personalities, the quality of training, the interpretation of regulations and other factors. As a result of all these factors, visitors have expressed a variety of concerns through the interviews and the on-line survey which have been noted above.

It is impossible to state that all factors relating to prison visits are included. It would also be unfair to claim that all visitors’ concerns were revealed during this research and are fully described with no details overlooked. The participant group may be reasonably representative of the approximately 32000 people who are denied prison visits each year. Further research may confirm or deny just how representative this initial cadre of participants has been. The following chapter will place the research themes into perspective with regard to the previously stated aims and objectives of this study.

## Three Perspectives

### Summary

This chapter will present a summary of findings and make recommendations in order to bring about positive approaches addressing issues raised. Completing this research has led to the discovery of previously hidden intense pent up feelings of anger held by participants. In my experience of dealing with many groups through long years of teaching and mediation, I have not previously met a group of people that holds so much resentment and anger over issues related to the Corrections System in Canada. There is no known measurement scale against which one might fairly evaluate such emotion.

The cadre of participants, V2, has never before been asked to expose their feelings about issues of concern and their feelings of powerlessness, which are directly related to how they are treated by representatives of a prison system. This previously unheard group is at the mercy of powerful institutions whose task is to keep offenders secure. This research has demonstrated that V2 are not considered to be a priority.

Participants have responded to questions that probed a very sensitive area of their lives. Without exception, these people have quite openly expressed their serious concerns about a prison system which, to them, appears to be broken and which prevents their contact with people they love and to whom they are trying to give support. One participant (P3), upset during the interview and in tears said, "I do not understand why I cannot visit my son. I have a visit approval. It is grossly unfair for me to travel for four hours to be turned away! They don't get it!" Another (P7), was quite unequivocal stating "I hate this (expletive removed) process, it is so unfair! They don't give a damn!"

There are three perspectives in play when a person shows up at the prison door. The First perspective is that held by the visitor and the anticipated visit with a relative or friend. The Second perspective, held by the incarcerated offender, who is in most circumstances, looking forward to spending time with a relative. The Third perspective is that of the CSC staff member concerned about safety, security and control issues.

The nature of this enquiry shows that these three perspectives are inextricably intertwined and cannot be truly understood without looking at how one perspective plays upon the other two. Conceptually one may think of them as separate, but that does not reveal the true picture of how they are in fact inseparable in operation.

The focus of this research has been primarily upon the visitor and shows that a family views visitor-offender contact as an essential component of their lives. Participants clearly indicated that they expected visits to take place as scheduled.

The shocking reality for Canada is that 38% of visitors get turned away at the prison door for many reasons, producing disillusionment and deeply felt anger. What were to be friendly visits for many become an emotional quagmire, even for the most resilient as the anticipated, long awaited visit is refused.

The offender, waiting for his visitor, has an anticipation that visits from friends and relatives will take place; the visit is something anticipated with hope, it brings a renewal of the association with family, confirmed with a hug or holding of hands and being able to see, to touch, to hear and talk with a family member or friend. The emotional side of a visit is significant with the exchange of ideas, looks and the comfort of another person's presence, albeit only for a brief period. This offender will not know that his visit is not to be. He will not have been called to the visiting area until the visitor screening process is completed, and even then, it may not be until after the intended visitor has left the premises that he is informed of the visit cancellation. At some time, he will phone the missed visitor to hear their version of what happened. On some occasions V2 have cancelled visits and have phoned the facility to advise of this, only to discover later on that the message was never passed on to the offender.

The third perspective has shown that the CSC staff person knew that the security of the prison had been maintained. He followed procedure, he greeted visitors and checked their identity, applied screening technologies; the IMS machine, the 'pat down' search and the drug dogs. He allowed some visitors to enter and told others that they could not visit today. He or she has redirected some visitors to talk with a supervisor and has watched visitors sign out.

Looking at the world again from a V2 perspective, the value of human contact has been displaced and submerged under a blanket of security concerns by prison staff. Security concerns have legitimacy and the actions of CSC staff are subject to regulatory controls that emanate from Commissioner's Directives which, in turn, are authorised by statutory legislation.

This legislation, as with legislation in the UK, is short-sighted and paternalistically driven. [Legislation is paternalistic because it derives from a group of MPs who are, by number, mostly male, in the UK and in Canada]. That the legislation does not allow reasonable access for family members to their loved ones seems to be overlooked. Reasonable access may be difficult to define for those who place security as the ultimate goal of a prison, especially in the light of the public wish to have offenders locked up and punished.

Loss of liberty is punishment. Society still has, apparently, not been able to punish an offender without also punishing an offender's family, albeit indirectly. Although participants did not express that they wanted unlimited access to their incarcerated relatives, they did state that more control over contacting their relatives would benefit all concerned. It is reasonable to understand that safety concerns must take precedence over the convenience of visitors. Research shows that participants understand that the safety of all people, offenders, visitors and staff is a priority when, for example, a lock-down is declared. Given that strong regulations are needed to enable or justify action of prison staff, the question arising from interviews is, why are everyday practices so pedantically obstructive for normal human interaction in a prison setting?



This research also clearly shows that difficulty arises when, during normal entry processes, visitors are treated as though they are quasi-criminals under suspicion. This comes about for two reasons; there is an imbalance of power in the relationship between a visitor and a prison staff member. The imbalance of power is created by authority passed to CSC through regulations. No such power resides with the visitor since the regulations provide all authority to officials and none to visitors.

A visitor's rights and an offender's rights are no match for withstanding the state power of extant regulations. There is no balance between the power (control) built into the regulations with the responsibility of serving the interests of the family relationships of offenders and visitors.

The second reason is found in the fact that, when a visit is denied, there is no immediate way in which CSC or HMP staff may be challenged to balance the power relationship. Any challenge to a decision is put off until a later date, as allowed by regulations which allow fourteen days for Review Boards to make a decision. This delay produces annoyance and frustration.

Perhaps as a result of the one-sided power alignment, mentioned above, there is also a perception that there is a prison officer culture. Prison officers are not unlike other institutional groups with a common cause. There is a bond of mutual concern, where danger and safety lurk together, that may be found in police forces, the armed forces, fire services and in many other institutional areas where, in an instant, a member may have to protect the life of a partner or partners (Siebold, 2007, p.289). Without such peer bonding, for some members of those institutional groups, it would be impossible to do the job. It is that institutional bonding that has potential to cause harm to people who are not wearing the same uniform.

When the distinction is not made, between the unwritten code of conduct of prison staff and how they then treat ordinary members of the public, it creates friction because visitor and CSC staff have different purposes. For participants, CSC staff appears to act like a herd which follows one path only, in an information cascade (Raafat, Chater & Frith, 2009, p.420). This process, where people influence one another, enables group members to ignore their own private knowledge and judgement and instead follow the publicly stated rules and roles of others. "Individuals often converge by modelling behaviours and beliefs of the larger group within which they are embedded" (Rafaaf et al., 2009, p.423).

Prison employees appear to participants, as though they fit into the conformist mould of following practices that do not exemplify a caring system. Ironically, in a system where the care and protection of offenders is the statutory mandate of correctional authorities, the human relationship that offenders have with their family members is not considered to be of paramount importance.

There is little doubt that prison workers are members of a difficult occupation that is filled with emotional stress. Prison workers' inter-personal relationships are important too and many of them go home to wives or husbands who hear about the work day and sometimes feel the stress as it is passed on by their partner (Bennett, Crewe & Wahidin, 2013, p.2).

Prison workers face many situations during the course of a shift, from attempted suicide, drug overdoses, the need to assist someone with cognitive development issues or mental disturbances or just working with offenders' programmes. All of those issues may occur in a shift while the prison worker is trying to develop or maintain normal relationships with offenders, officials and visitors.

The Technologies of Exclusion have officially been used to protect the safety, security and control of the prison system again, just as they will be for another 32,000 or more occasions when visitors appear seeking entry. What is left out of the above statements is that real harm has been done in almost immeasurable ways to the relationships that visitors have with their relatives.

### **Harm Done by TE**

Prison regulations are intended for the legal punishment of offenders. The enforced deprivation of the freedom of offenders, under authority of those regulations, is punishment. Where the regulations and laws appear to fail is clearly centred on the issue of addressing the family relationship as if it has societal value. Messages in the public domain by CSC and HMPS, with reference to caring for family relationships, appear to be statements of intent rather than the reality which faces prison visitors. If the family and family relationships are to be given legitimate respect, the prison system must recognize the family as worthy of consideration that matches the legitimate concerns for safety and security. The 'values of a prison system' versus 'values of a family' are the focal point of a long standing societal debate that, on the face of it, has no resolution. Today (2016) the balance between these values is clearly overloaded in favour of the prison system security and safety concerns (Zinger, 2016, p.613). In an ideal world, both sides would balance.

There is a distinction to be made between the harm done by incarceration and the harms done by TE. Where there is much material in the literature about incarceration, there is little to be found with reference to the impact of TE upon families. Limiting visits is contrary to the purpose of building an offender's growth towards rehabilitation, a task clearly stated to be within the mandate of CSC and which is supported by research literature. Restricting and/or denying family contact visits appears to serve no known positive purpose. It is fair to say that all participants expect to be screened as they enter a prison. Unlike airport screening where there are alternative options for a passenger, the prison screening offers no alternatives about visits. Screening gives a hard-nosed, 'yes' you may or 'no' you may not enter.

Although there are no overt expressions of contempt, disgust, distaste or dislike by CSC staff shown towards visitors, it is clear from interview notes that visitors are not viewed as regular people as expressed by P11, "I felt as though I was the guilty one, and all I did was try to visit my relative!"

This perception is difficult to explain as it is not quantifiable, yet it is an issue that reveals itself when visitors describe how they feel when being screened, the discomfort shows in their body language and facial expressions. Although it may not be the result of a scientific examination process of emotional responses, it is a 'gut feeling' often mentioned by participants.

Discomfort is also something that may be felt by one party (V2) while the other party (CSC) may not even realize that they are communicating a disturbing message through a combination of words, required screening processes and the nuances of their body language. I have previously referred to this discomfort as being like a quasi- prisoner, and from the V2 point of view leaves V2 with no choice but to tolerate the controls of the penal system if they wish to visit. They cannot choose visiting times, they must adhere to dress codes, and they cannot bring gifts or carry too much money and they must obey correctional staff (Comfort, 2003, p.80; Pallott, 2007, p.572,). There are no alternatives.

In comparison, the comfort level that people feel when going through an airport screening process is more relaxed and comfortable where there are alternatives, like unpacking your baggage and discarding materials, and where taking a flight still remains a possibility.

Prison entry denial, although not classified as a criminal act, has a very disturbing emotional impact upon the visitor and her or his family that one could call genuinely traumatic. The emotional turmoil generated is long lasting, as evidenced by the fact that participants discussed events that were three years or more prior to their interview, and the emotional impact was clearly evident in their words and deportment. In my opinion, based upon years of experience dealing with people who have behavioural issues, the emotional turmoil has been harmful to those people and I have no doubt whatsoever that young children in the homes of some of these people may well have been negatively influenced by their parent's distress.

One of the ethical requirements faced by researchers is that they shall not render harm to those who participate in the research, and this refers to physical and emotional harm. It is difficult to measure how upset or angry a person must be before one considers that emotional harm is taking place.

It is difficult to determine how one measures an emotional upset. It should be fairly obvious, in my opinion, for those who work within a prison to notice when a person becomes upset because they may observe the visitor reaction to negative decisions as they are announced. CSC staff may be responsible for the negligent infliction of emotional distress upon visitors. Clear (1994, cited by Owen & Irving, in Leibling & Maruna, 2005, p. 94), states that "Professionals in the field of corrections are loathe to admit that they are bureaucrats whose job it is to implement judicially decreed harm".

Some of the harm for offenders and to which Haney (2001, p.1), refers is the reduction of life's chances for normality as a result of time served in prison. When visitor IMS positive indications are recorded on an offender's file (CD, 566-8-1 #31a, 32a) it is known to diminish chances for parole and therefore renders harm. Harm rendered by the prison system upon V2, the "quasi-prisoner", cannot be fully accounted for in this study, but the pathway for further study now has a foundation upon which I hope others will build. V2 are created every time a prison officer denies access to a family member or friend, he or she causes secondary victimization and trauma (Walklate, 2012, p.51).

The trauma of visit denial upon family and friends is an area where much more study needs to be done because it has an effect upon the domestic life of those who, through no fault of their own, have become subject to rules, regulations and control of a non-family organization, the prison. In a liberal democracy where freedom is treasured, the corrections system has managed to detrimentally impose itself, perhaps unwittingly, upon innocent, free citizens by use of legislation and security control mechanisms that curtail the freedom of these citizens and their association with their families.

However, the opposing view is that no harm has been rendered by the prison system; the offender broke the law and as a consequence has punished himself and his family and has received justified punishment. V2 would not agree that either view is more significant than the other. Most would argue that they are made to feel as though they are punished, even as they agree that offenders should be punished for crimes committed.

To avoid this wrongful situation, improving the current prison system in CDA and the UK would necessitate the redesign of the screening process which would make visits a confirmed event rather than one where a person has only a 62% chance of visiting. No visitor should be put in the position whereby his/her activity damages an offender's record, as previously described, and regulations need to be altered to prevent this.

Secondly, security measures should be 'least restrictive' instead of being the 'paramount consideration', as noted by Zinger (2016, p.613). Official policy on CSC/HMPS websites and official documents, states that family contact is important. Within reason, offenders should be allowed to have visitors on any and all days of the week. Restricting family contact damages the possibility of keeping an offender up to date with societal change, current affairs, family matters, social groups, education possibilities and other important life concerns. Visitors have a role to play in all of that because they are the agent of the wider world, as well as being the family ambassador. The concept of visiting should be considered in terms of the visitor being the bridge builder to a better world, instead of being an administrative burden to the security role. As one participant said, "I am his bridge to community/information & resources/hope". What better way to build a more positive environment for offender and visitor than to rebuild the prison system to accomplish this bridge building of which the V2 talk?

Prison staff use Technologies of Exclusion by default. This may be because employees are doing their jobs, following orders, safeguarding offenders, staff and visitors. It may be because security issues are too complex to sort out or it could be for a multitude of reasons, not the least of which is keeping the job and staying employed. “Breaking the silence”, for prison staff, could damage a career as it would go against the mould. Making sure that family visits were definite possibilities does not seem to be an extraordinary thing to do, yet 38% of potential visitors are refused entry because of the “silence”.

If nobody speaks up, CDA and the UK are likely to follow the USA where, in some places, ‘Video-Call Visitation’ has been pushed into place, by commercial interests, as a means of providing remote contact for offenders and their families, while taking prison employees away from their responsibilities. This should not be allowed to occur if these research findings are given appropriate credence.

One evident need is for a far greater understanding of the nature of the offender/family relationship role in the reintegration of the offender. Specialized training for prison staff could significantly reduce the tension, friction, conflict between V2 and prison officials and also reduce the trauma imposed upon visitors.

The significance of the family, as indicated by this research and supported by other literature (Briar-Lawson, 2010, pp.21-28; Cheal, 2008, p.36), should become the centre piece of prison security measures to enable genuine support for offenders and visitors.

V2 are secondary silent victims of incarceration. Few know how to challenge a system that appears to be working, but on the inside, it is harming family relationships. A larger scale study of V2 is strongly encouraged so that the knowledge base, on this hitherto ignored area of criminology, may be strengthened to enable the corrections system to be genuinely supportive of family relationships.

It is strongly recommended that the regulatory system pertaining to custodial sentences in Canada and the UK should be thoroughly reviewed in order to produce a more balanced role for security issues relative to family relationships. As noted by Ivan Zinger (2016, p.621), the delivery of the correction's rehabilitation mandate receives far less attention, i.e., funding, than the adoption of new security technologies. This ought to be reversed, placing the family as a primary concern.

This empirical research very strongly supports the complete removal of IMS devices from Correctional Services facilities. Documented facility searches by CSC show that prohibited substances enter prisons undetected by IMS machines. The record of prison searches, which prove drugs enter prison in large amounts, is an obvious indictment of the failure of IMS devices (ATI, 2015a). An Internal CSC audit report (CSC-IA, 2006), part of which is redacted, clearly indicates that prison staff do not follow appropriate procedures and jeopardize visitor access to family members. This further indicates that IMS machines are not appropriate for use in a prison setting.

The need for further training of corrections personnel is indicated by the lack of a consistent, standard and empathic approach to visitors as shown in this research. Visitors at any corrections facility should not be made to feel like “quasi-prisoners”. Revision of training curricula for prison staff could bring about a consistent reasonable approach with regard to staff and visitor interaction.

Prison is there ‘as’ punishment, not ‘for’ punishment. Prison should not punish the visitor who comes to support an offender. These recommendations focus upon achieving a balance between the primary need for maintaining family relationship support for offenders and the need for security. Family relationships must be given at least equal status with security concerns. That would considerably improve family relationship issues for visitors and offenders while reducing the tension between CSC staff and visitors caused by a pedantic, often myopic staff interpretation of rules and legislation.

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## Participant Information Sheet

Institute of Criminal Justice  
Studies

Researcher: Alaric Woodrow

Supervisor: Dr. Jacki Tapley

+441 239 284 3983

Researcher Contact Email  
[icj80348@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj80348@myport.ac.uk)

REC Reference Number: 12/13:33

### Study: Technologies of Exclusion: Visitor Victims

I would like to invite you to take part in our research study and before you decide I would like you to understand why the research is being done and what it would involve for you. I encourage you to talk with others about the study. Please ask us if there is anything that is not clear.

This study is about why and how some visitors are turned away when they try to visit prisoners who are serving their sentences in federal prison in Canada. It does not matter if the prisoner is a relative or just a friend since this study is an exploration of the process by which some visitors are refused entry to visit and it is also about how these visitors are treated.

#### What is the purpose of the study?

Have you ever tried to visit a relative or friend who is incarcerated and been refused entry? When you are already at the entrance to a facility expecting to meet and talk with a relative or friend, being turned away can be a disturbing experience. The refusal of a visit is not something that people expect, but it does happen. If you have been refused entry while attempting to visit a relative or friend I would like to learn about your experience, how you were refused, what reasons were given and what happened to you at that time? I would like to document this event. Your information and that of other participants is vital to this study. I am hoping that I will have 50 people participate in this study so that I may have a realistic picture of what happens to visitors who are refused entry.

The purpose of the study is twofold: to determine how and why visitors are refused entry and also to investigate how visitors are treated by the Corrections Canada personnel when they are refused entry to a Federal prison.

### **Why have I been invited?**

The John Howard Society of Hamilton, The Elizabeth Fry Society of Hamilton and the St Leonard's Society of Hamilton have graciously agreed to help me with this study. You have been contacted on my behalf by one of these agencies in order to make you aware of this study and, importantly, to invite you to participate. I would like you to know that these agencies have not given me your contact information, and I do not know your identity.

For the purpose of this study I need information from people who have visited or have tried to visit people who are offenders serving their sentence in a federal institution. I am looking for information about the visit process. In order to find people who have this circumstance in their lives I must respect Privacy Laws and ask you to contact me. This is the only way I may do the research study that I wish to undertake.

### **Do I have to take part?**

It is up to you to decide to join the study. Taking part in the research study is voluntary. If you do agree to take part, I ask you to sign the enclosed consent form.

### **What will happen to me if I take part?**

If you sign the consent form, you will be asked to provide your contact information to the Researcher so that you may participate in an on-line computer survey. Participation in that is voluntary. You will then be given the computer link and the necessary password for the survey.

At a later time and with your consent you may be asked to meet with the researcher in order to participate in a confidential interview during which you will answer some questions about the visit process. Your interview may take up to 45 minutes to complete and may be shorter if you allow the researcher to record the conversation. There is a section about this on the consent form which you may initial to give permission for this.

### **.Confidentiality**

All your answers are confidential. The researcher is bound to protect your identity as your information is private and will be carefully safeguarded. All information gathered in the interview and survey will also be kept confidential as required by the Data Protection Act (1998) of the UK, The Privacy Act of Canada (1985), and the Personal Information Protection and Electronic Documents Act (2000), of Canada. The only limits to confidentiality are related to the disclosure of information of a criminal nature or that which might put others at risk.

Your name will not be associated with any information used in this research. All recorded answers will be kept in locked cabinets or in the case of computer records, securely password protected on an external computer drive which is locked up when not in use. Once the research study is completed, all research data will be destroyed.



## **Expenses**

There are no research funds available which means that there will be no payments for expenses incurred as a participant in this study.

## **What will I have to do?**

If you participate you will be asked to meet with the researcher at a time and place that is mutually agreed to discuss the research and answer questions about the prison visitation process.

## **What are the possible advantages and risks of taking part?**

You will be providing essential information that may be used to improve the visit process for many other people. Where this may not seem to be much of a direct benefit to you, it is possible that your answers, along with those of other participants, could make a difference for other families who visit corrections facilities. Since your privacy is protected there should be no disadvantage to you of any kind as nobody will know of your participation except you and the researcher.

## **What will I do if I feel distressed by the study?**

Although the questions pertain to visiting a Corrections facility, if for any reason during or after the interview you feel the need to talk to somebody the Researcher has contact information for counselling services if you should need that kind of assistance.

## **Further note about Confidentiality**

If you join the study, it is possible that some of the data collected will be looked at by authorised persons from the University of Portsmouth (UK). Your name will not be in that data.

Data may also be seen by authorised people from that university to check that the study is being carried out correctly, e.g., the supervisor of this research study, Dr. Jacki Tapley. All will have a duty of confidentiality to you as a research participant.

## **What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?**

Your information will be assimilated with the information of other participants, without the use of your name. It may not then be possible for your specific data to be extracted and destroyed once it is mixed in with that of other participants as it will not be identifiable. While you may choose to withdraw in the course of an interview, once the interview data have been analysed it will be impossible to identify and withdraw your individual contribution. As mentioned above, all information will be destroyed once the research is completed.

### **What if there is a problem?**

If you have a concern about any aspect of this study, you should ask to speak me or to my supervisor. We will do our best to answer your questions.

I may be contacted in Canada at 905 317 5415. My supervisor, Dr. Jacki Tapley, may be contacted through email: [jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk](mailto:jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk)

If you remain unhappy and wish to complain formally, you may contact Dr Francis Pakes at [francis.pakes@port.ac.uk](mailto:francis.pakes@port.ac.uk) or the University of Portsmouth Complaints Officer.

### **What will happen to the results of the research study?**

The results of the research will be made available to the University of Portsmouth (UK), Corrections Canada, Academic Journals and to participants in the study. No participant names will appear in any related publication.

### **Who is organising and funding the research?**

This research will be sponsored by the University of Portsmouth (UK), which will provide proper supervision and insurance. Research costs are being borne independently by the researcher who will not derive financial benefit from this study.

### **Who has reviewed the study?**

Research in the University of Portsmouth (UK), is looked at by independent group of people, called a Research Ethics Committee, to protect your interests. This study has been reviewed and given a favourable opinion by the University of Portsmouth Research Ethics Committee.

### **Contact information:**

#### **Researcher**

Alaric Woodrow, PO Box 531, Binbrook, Ontario, L0R 1C0

Email: [icj80348@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj80348@myport.ac.uk)

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### **Organizations which have agreed to assist, but who are not participants in nor part of this research:**

**The John Howard Society of Hamilton, Burlington & Area,  
654 Barton Street East, Hamilton, Ontario L8L 3A2  
Telephone: 905 522 4446 Fax: 905 524 2223**

**The Elizabeth Fry Society of Canada, Hamilton Branch  
85 Holton S., Hamilton, Ontario L8M 2L4  
Telephone: 905 527 3097**

**The St Leonard's Society of Hamilton  
Administrative Offices,  
73 Robert Street, Hamilton, Ontario, L8L 2P2  
Telephone: 905 5721150**

**The Bridge-Hamilton**  
**319 Barton St E**  
**Hamilton, ON L8L 2X6**  
**Telephone: 905-522-0283**

**Canadian Families & Corrections Network CFCN**  
**Box 35040**  
**Kingston ON K7L 5S5**  
**Telephone: 1-888-371-2326**

**PASAN**  
**526 Richmond St E**  
**Toronto, ON, M5A 1R3**  
**Telephone 1-866-224-9978**

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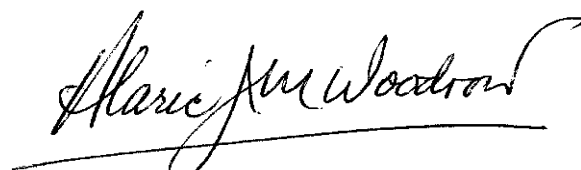
**University of Portsmouth**  
**Research Supervisor**  
**Dr. Jacki Tapley**  
**Email: [jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk](mailto:jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk)**  
**Telephone [UK] 011 441 239 284 3983**

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You have been given

- 1.) a copy of research information pages, which you may keep, and
- 2.) a consent form for your signature, if you decide to participate, and
- 3.) a return, addressed, stamped envelope in which to send the consent form, or
- 4.) an email address to which you may send your reply.

If you choose not to participate I thank you sincerely for taking the time to read this information.



Alaric J. M. Woodrow  
Professional Doctorate Student

Researcher

PARTICIPANT LETTER



Institute for Criminal Justice Studies

Researcher: Alaric Woodrow email: [icj80348@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj80348@myport.ac.uk)

Supervisor: Dr. Jacki Tapley email: [jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk](mailto:jacki.tapley@port.ac.uk) Telephone 023 92284 3983

Director of Studies: Dr Stephen Savage email: [steve.savage@port.ac.uk](mailto:steve.savage@port.ac.uk)

**REC Ref No: 12/13:33**

Dear Potential Participant

I would like to invite you to participate in a research study about the visitor experience at Canada's Correctional institutions. In my role as a Victim Services Volunteer I have become interested in how people who have contact with the justice system are treated. This study is an extension of that interest which I hope will also interest you.

This letter has been forwarded to you by one of the following agencies:

1. Elizabeth Fry Society, 2. John Howard Society, 3. St Leonard's Society, 4. PASAN Inc.,
5. The Bridge, 6. Canadian Families & Corrections Network, or 7. The Prison Fellowship of Canada.

These agencies have agreed to assist me in my research endeavour. They have identified that you might be a suitable participant in my research and I am hoping that you will participate.

In some cases this letter has been forwarded to you by an individual who is aware that you may have an interest in this research.

Please be aware that none have provided me with your name, address or personal details. I do not know your identity, but I am hoping you will choose to participate in this study. I want to make it clear to you that any of the services provided by these agencies will not be altered in any way by your participation or your non-participation in this study. This is a completely voluntary decision that you make. The above named agencies will not be made aware of your decision about participation. That is confidential. I do wish to mention to you that these agencies are assisting me with this research but they are not part of this research project.

Attached to this invitation are information sheets and a consent form. Please note, and I emphasize again, that your participation is voluntary. If you participate and later choose to withdraw from the study you should be aware that your information will be assimilated with that of other participants and will then not be identifiable as yours, since confidentiality of information is very important to us.

The enclosed information sheets may be kept and the consent form may, of course, be used to indicate your agreement to participate. I am hoping you will participate so that I may gather as much information about this topic as possible.

Please send your consent form to the following address: postage will be refunded to participants;

Alaric Woodrow,

PO.Box 531,

Binbrook, Ontario

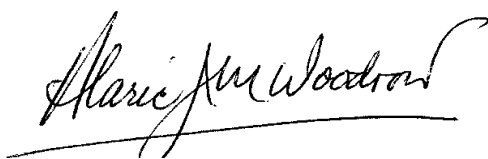
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If you prefer to scan the signed consent form and email it, you may do so at: [icj80348@myport.ac.uk](mailto:icj80348@myport.ac.uk). Receipt of a signed, emailed consent form will be treated as if it was an original signed document.

Thank you for taking the time to read this invitation and the attached materials. I hope you have remembered to give me your contact information on the consent form so that this study may begin as soon as possible.

If you choose not to participate, I thank you for taking the time to read this information.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Alaric Woodrow", with a horizontal line drawn underneath the name.

**Consent Form CONFIDENTIAL when completed**



**Study:** Technologies of Exclusion: Visitor Victims (V2)

**REC Ref No:** 12/13:33

Institute for Criminal Justice Studies  
Researcher: Alaric Woodrow

PO Box 531, Binbrook, Ontario

LOR 1C0

**Name of Researcher:** ALARIC WOODROW

**Please initial box**

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated.. 17 July 2013, for the above study. I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and have had these answered satisfactorily.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
3. I understand that data collected during the study, may be looked at by Dr. Jacki Tapley or other faculty members from the University of Portsmouth(UK) or from regulatory authorities and I give permission for these individuals to have access to my data..
4. I agree that my interview may be audio recorded.
5. I acknowledge that data I contribute will be destroyed at the end of the study.

☐☐☐☐☐

I agree to take part in the above study.

☐

Name of Participant:

Signature:

Date:

My contact information: Address

Phone number

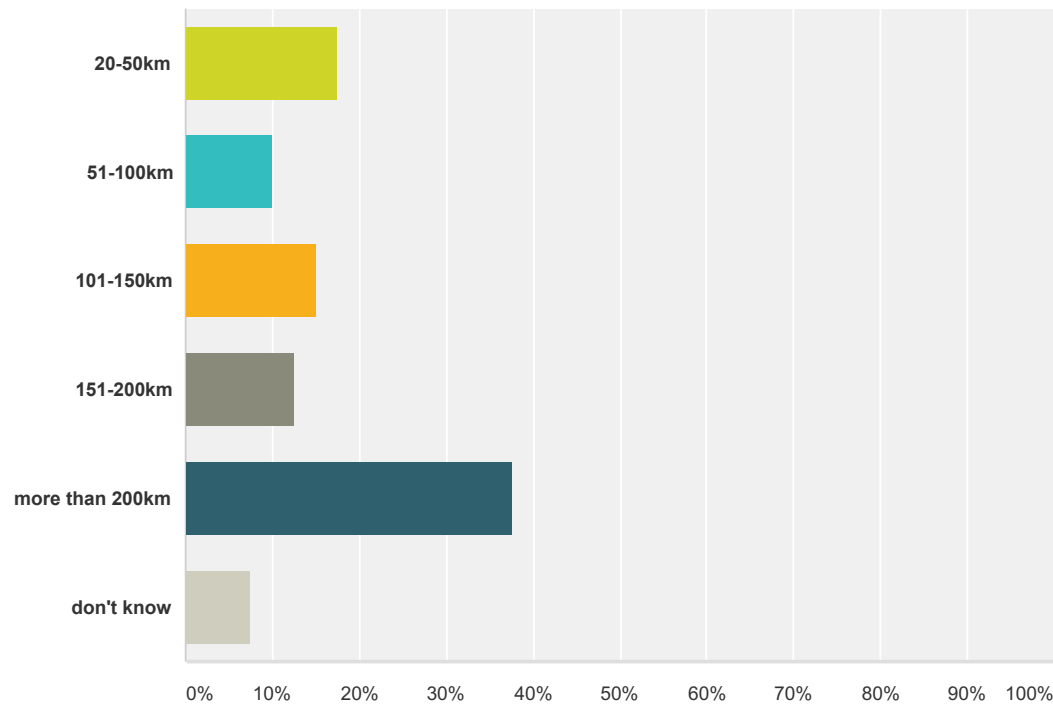
Email:

**CONFIDENTIAL WHEN COMPLETED**

Above pages Adapted from: NRES (May 2009), *Information Sheets & Consent Forms*. Retrieved Sept 1, 2010,  
from [http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk/applications/guidance/consent-guidance-and  
forms/?esctl1431725\\_entryid62=67013](http://www.nres.npsa.nhs.uk/applications/guidance/consent-guidance-and-forms/?esctl1431725_entryid62=67013)

Q1 How far do you travel to visit a Corrections facility?

Answered: 40 Skipped: 1

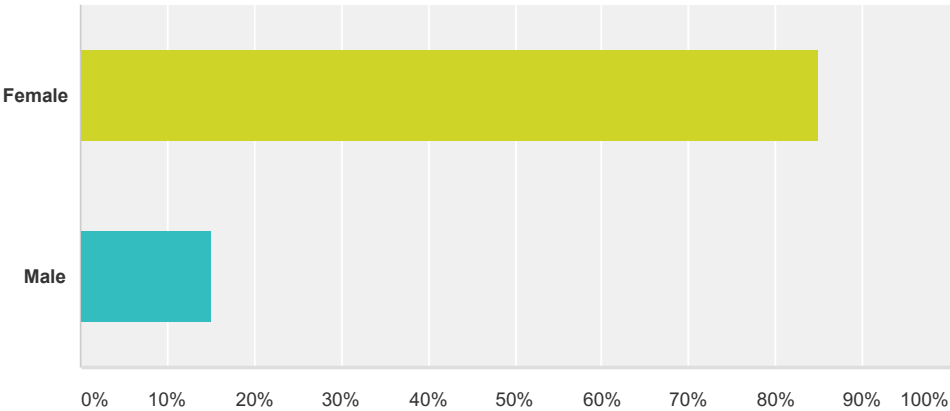


| Answer Choices  | Responses |    |
|-----------------|-----------|----|
| 20-50km         | 17.50%    | 7  |
| 51-100km        | 10.00%    | 4  |
| 101-150km       | 15.00%    | 6  |
| 151-200km       | 12.50%    | 5  |
| more than 200km | 37.50%    | 15 |
| don't know      | 7.50%     | 3  |
| Total           |           | 40 |



Q2 What is your gender?

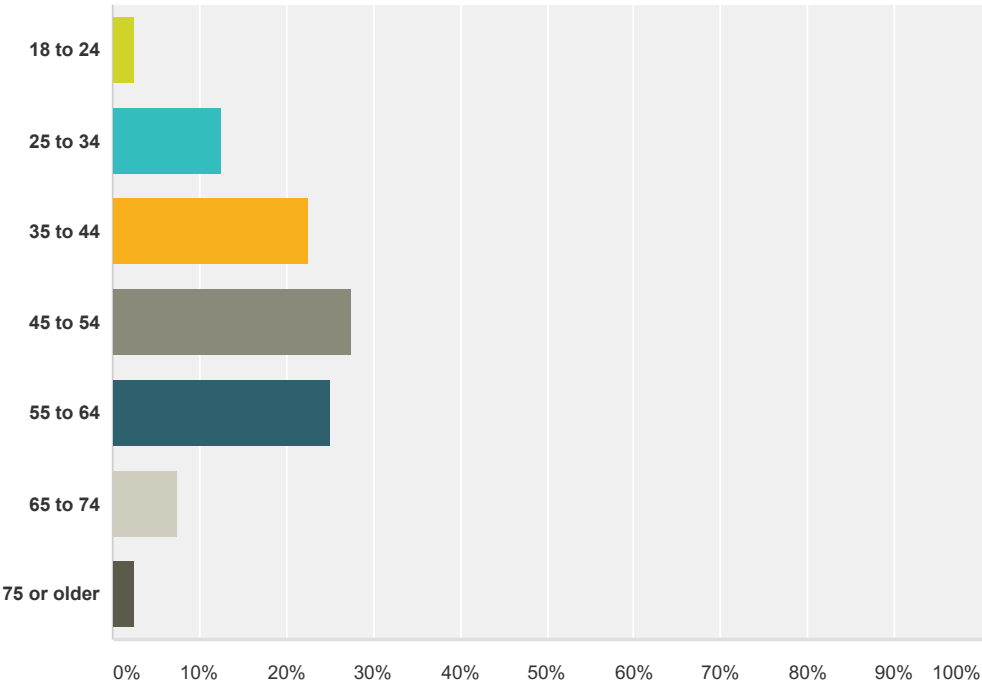
Answered: 40 Skipped: 1



| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Female         | 85.00%    | 34 |
| Male           | 15.00%    | 6  |
| Total          |           | 40 |

Q3 What is your age?

Answered: 40 Skipped: 1

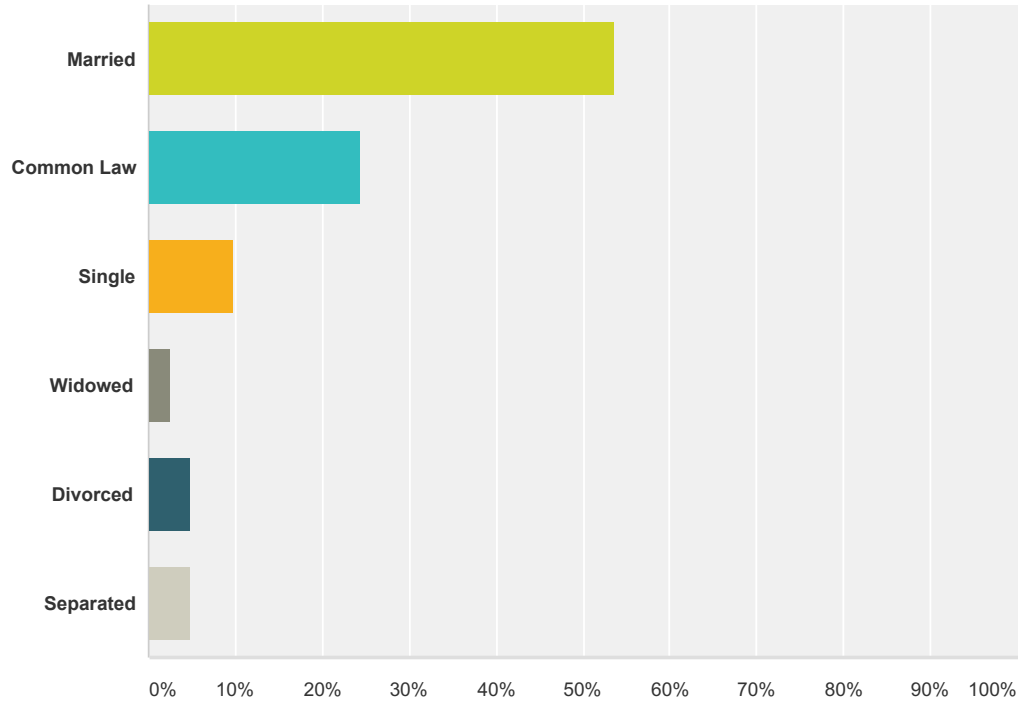


| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| 18 to 24       | 2.50%     | 1  |
| 25 to 34       | 12.50%    | 5  |
| 35 to 44       | 22.50%    | 9  |
| 45 to 54       | 27.50%    | 11 |
| 55 to 64       | 25.00%    | 10 |
| 65 to 74       | 7.50%     | 3  |
| 75 or older    | 2.50%     | 1  |
| Total          |           | 40 |

## Visitor Survey

### Q4 Are you married, in a common Law relationship, single, widowed, divorced or separated?

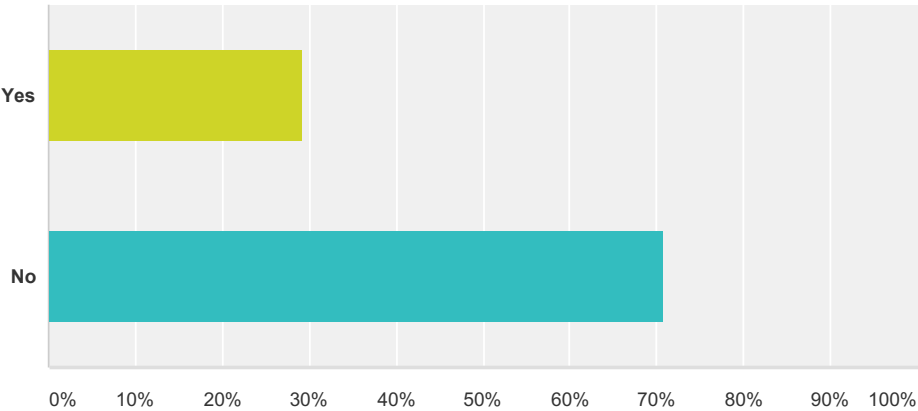
Answered: 41 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Married        | 53.66%    | 22 |
| Common Law     | 24.39%    | 10 |
| Single         | 9.76%     | 4  |
| Widowed        | 2.44%     | 1  |
| Divorced       | 4.88%     | 2  |
| Separated      | 4.88%     | 2  |
| Total          |           | 41 |

Q5 Do you have any children under 18?

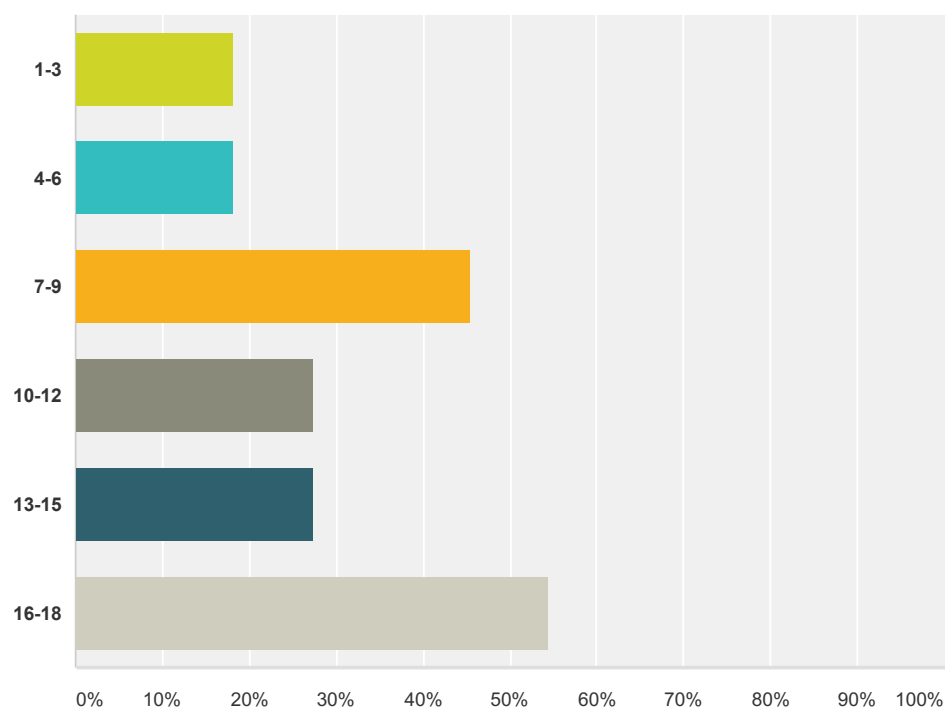
Answered: 41 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Yes            | 29.27%    | 12 |
| No             | 70.73%    | 29 |
| Total          |           | 41 |

Q6 If you have children, what are their ages? Check all that apply

Answered: 11 Skipped: 30

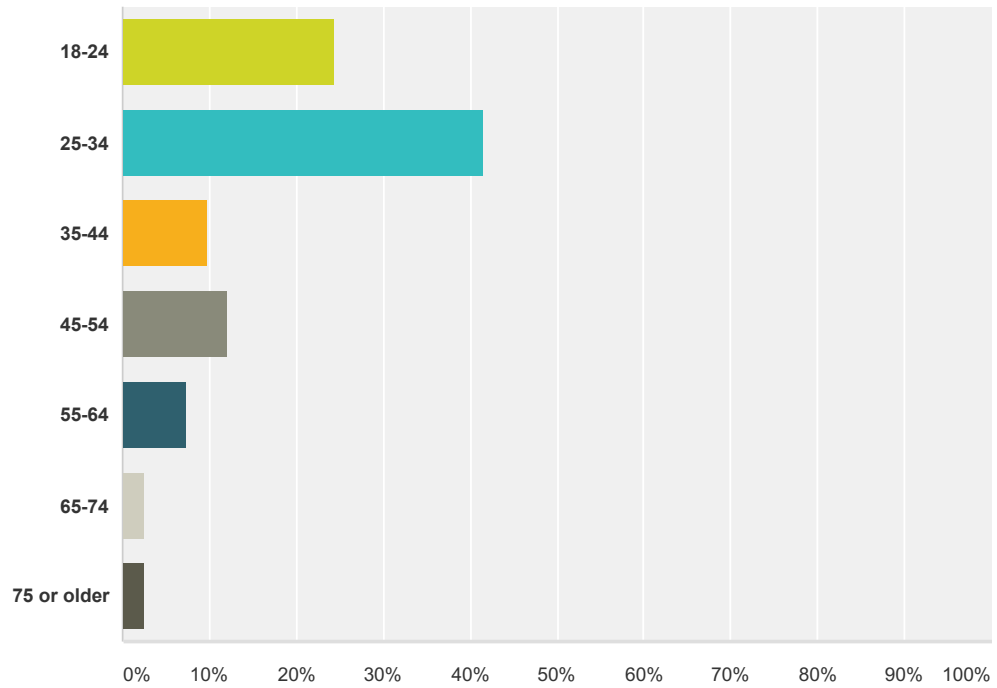


| Answer Choices        | Responses |   |
|-----------------------|-----------|---|
| 1-3                   | 18.18%    | 2 |
| 4-6                   | 18.18%    | 2 |
| 7-9                   | 45.45%    | 5 |
| 10-12                 | 27.27%    | 3 |
| 13-15                 | 27.27%    | 3 |
| 16-18                 | 54.55%    | 6 |
| Total Respondents: 11 |           |   |

## Visitor Survey

### Q7 What is the age of the person you visit?

Answered: 41 Skipped: 0

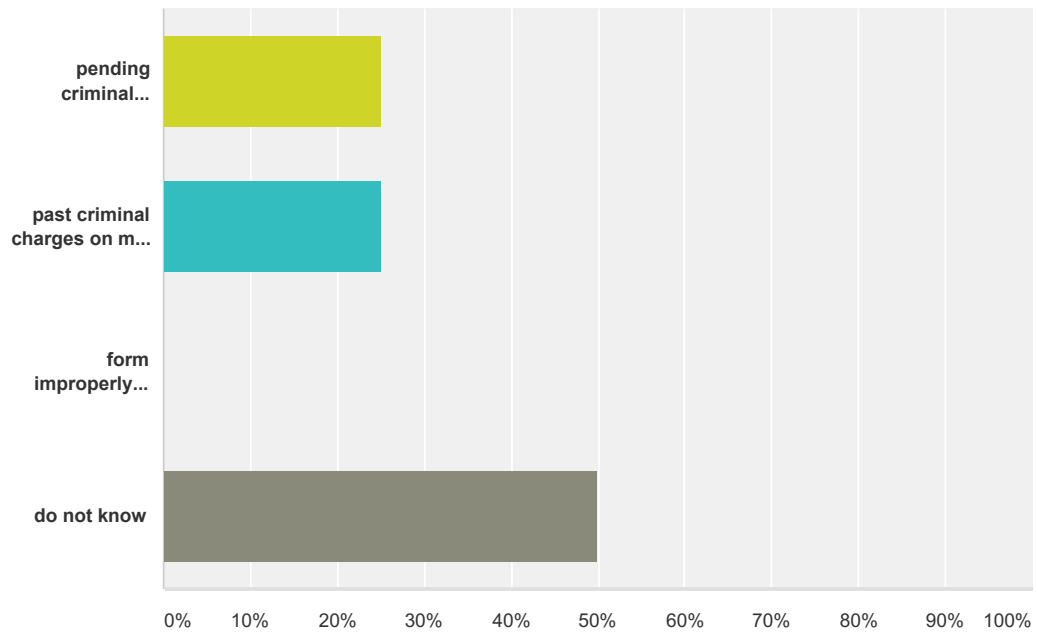


| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| 18-24          | 24.39%    | 10 |
| 25-34          | 41.46%    | 17 |
| 35-44          | 9.76%     | 4  |
| 45-54          | 12.20%    | 5  |
| 55-64          | 7.32%     | 3  |
| 65-74          | 2.44%     | 1  |
| 75 or older    | 2.44%     | 1  |
| Total          |           | 41 |

## Visitor Survey

### Q8 If you have had your Visiting Application refused, what reason was given?

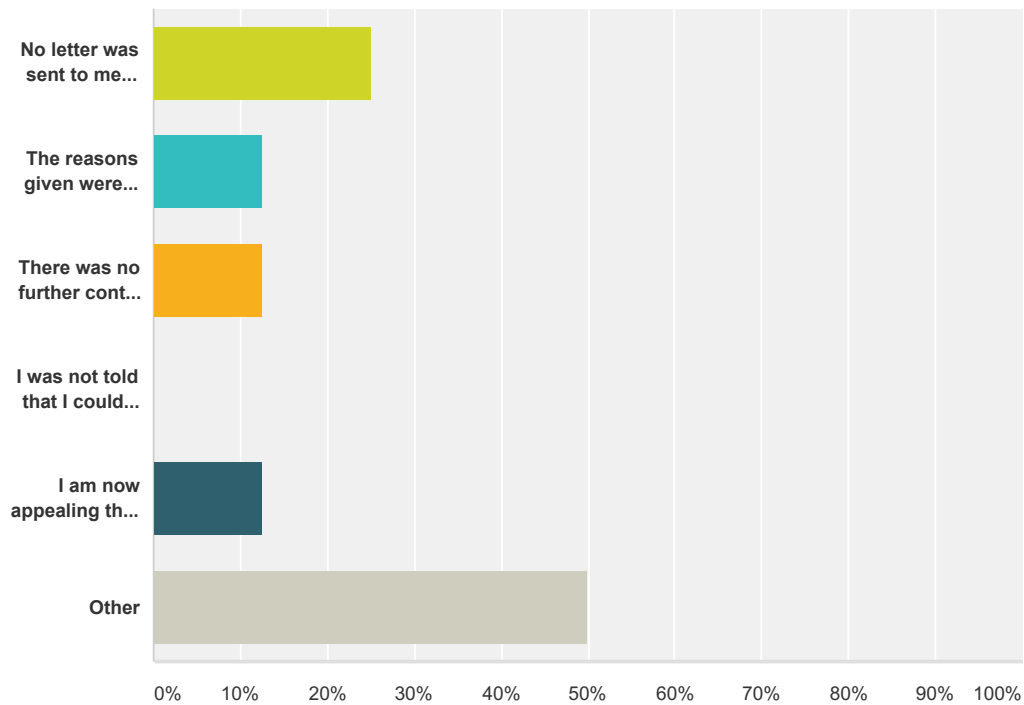
Answered: 4 Skipped: 37



| Answer Choices                      | Responses |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| pending criminal charges against me | 25.00% 1  |
| past criminal charges on my record  | 25.00% 1  |
| form improperly completed           | 0.00% 0   |
| do not know                         | 50.00% 2  |
| Total Respondents: 4                |           |

## Q9 My 'Visiting Application and Information Form' was refused and (check all that apply)

Answered: 8 Skipped: 33



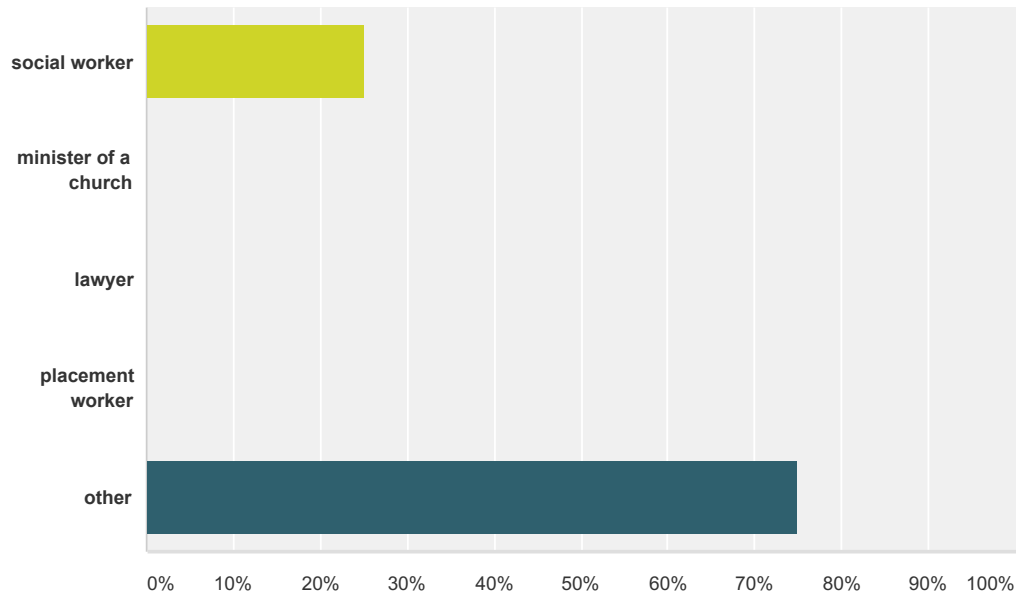
| Answer Choices                                       | Responses |   |
|--|-----------|---|
| No letter was sent to me explaining the decision     | 25.00%    | 2 |
| The reasons given were inaccurate                    | 12.50%    | 1 |
| There was no further contact from Corrections Canada | 12.50%    | 1 |
| I was not told that I could appeal this decision     | 0.00%     | 0 |
| I am now appealing the decision made by V&C          | 12.50%    | 1 |
| Other  | 50.00%    | 4 |
| Total Respondents: 8                                 |           |   |



## Visitor Survey

### Q10 Are you a person who works in an official capacity with offenders? (e.g. social worker, advocate or lawyer)

Answered: 8 Skipped: 33

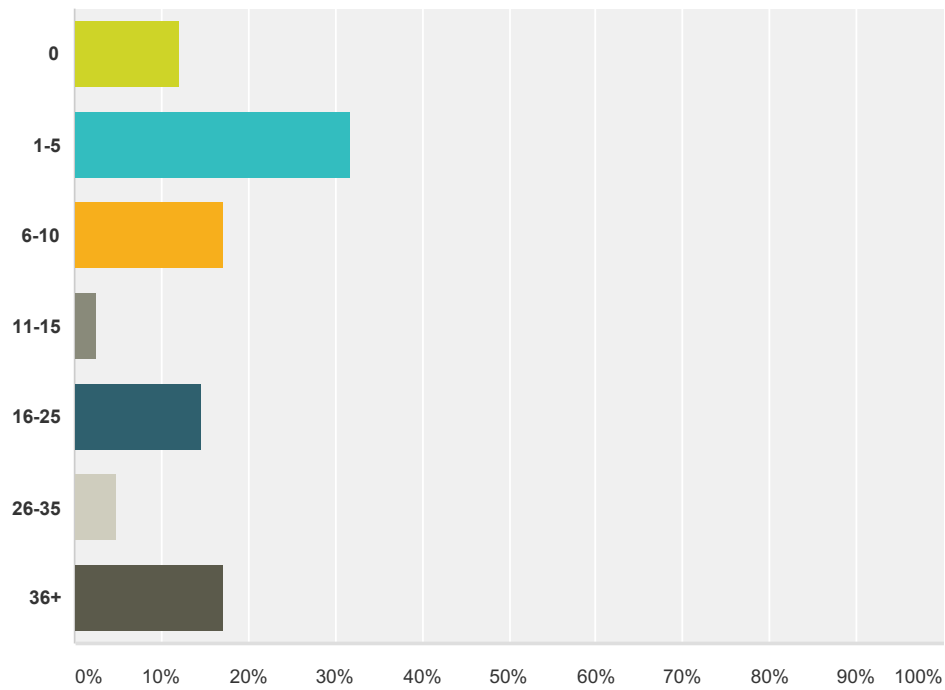


| Answer Choices       | Responses |
|----------------------|-----------|
| social worker        | 25.00% 2  |
| minister of a church | 0.00% 0   |
| lawyer               | 0.00% 0   |
| placement worker     | 0.00% 0   |
| other                | 75.00% 6  |
| Total Respondents: 8 |           |

## Visitor Survey

### Q11 In the past year how many times have you visited a Correctional facility?

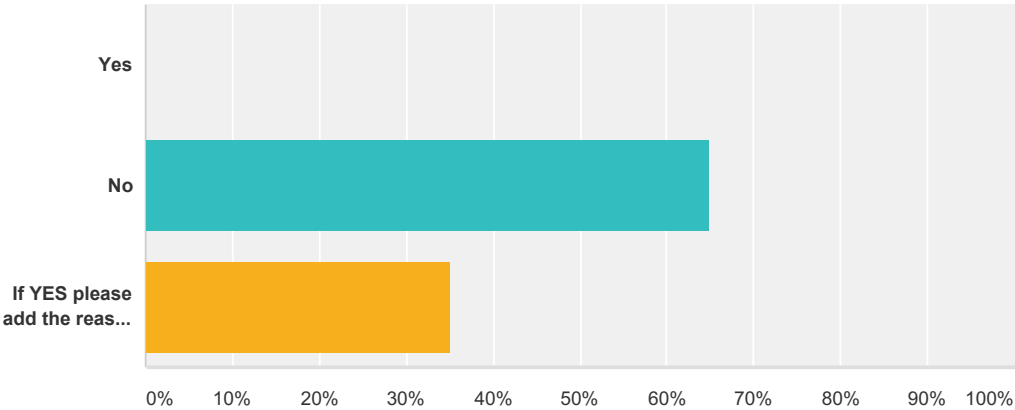
Answered: 41 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices | Responses |
|----------------|-----------|
| 0              | 12.20% 5  |
| 1-5            | 31.71% 13 |
| 6-10           | 17.07% 7  |
| 11-15          | 2.44% 1   |
| 16-25          | 14.63% 6  |
| 26-35          | 4.88% 2   |
| 36+            | 17.07% 7  |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>41</b> |

Q12 Having travelled to make a visit, have you been refused entry to a Canadian Corrections facility?

Answered: 40 Skipped: 1

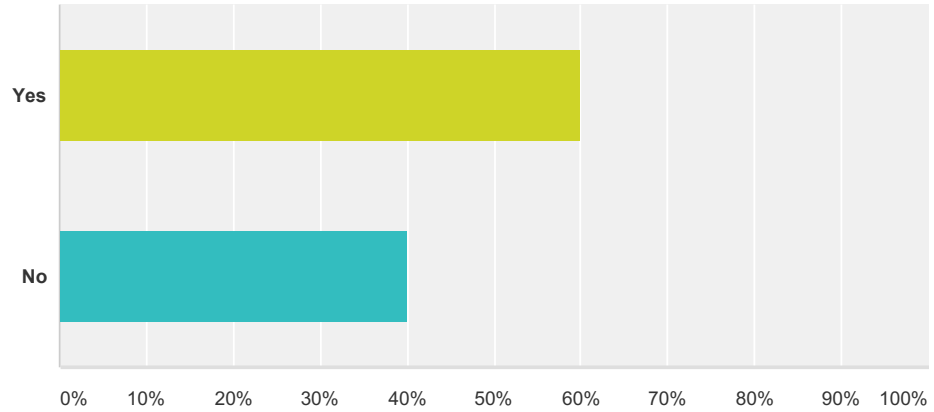


| Answer Choices                      | Responses |    |
|-------------------------------------|-----------|----|
| Yes                                 | 0.00%     | 0  |
| No                                  | 65.00%    | 26 |
| If YES please add the reason below: | 35.00%    | 14 |
| Total                               |           | 40 |

## Visitor Survey

### Q13 Have you missed a visit to a Correctional facility because of a "lock down"?

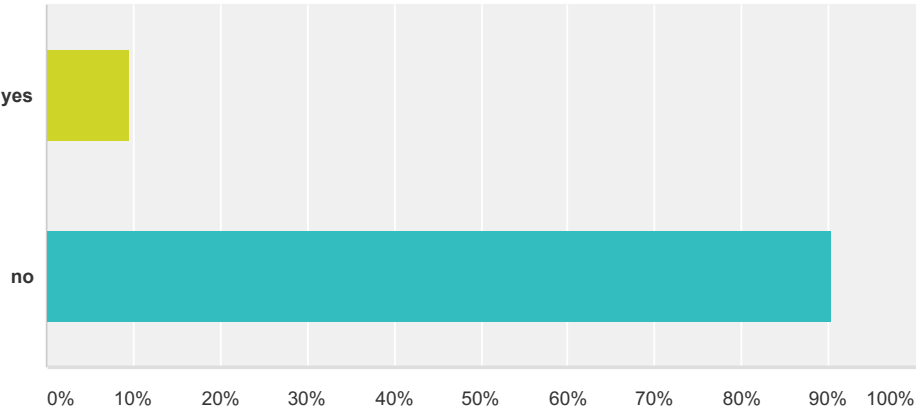
Answered: 40 Skipped: 1



| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| Yes            | 60.00%    | 24 |
| No             | 40.00%    | 16 |
| Total          |           | 40 |

Q14 Were you notified that a "lock down" was over so that your visit could take place?

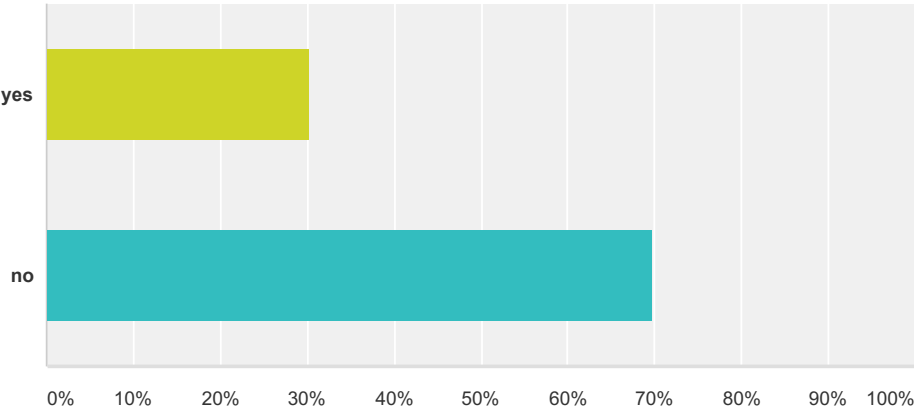
Answered: 31 Skipped: 10



| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| yes            | 9.68%     | 3  |
| no             | 90.32%    | 28 |
| Total          |           | 31 |

Q15 Were you notified of a "lock down" before any of your planned visits?

Answered: 33 Skipped: 8

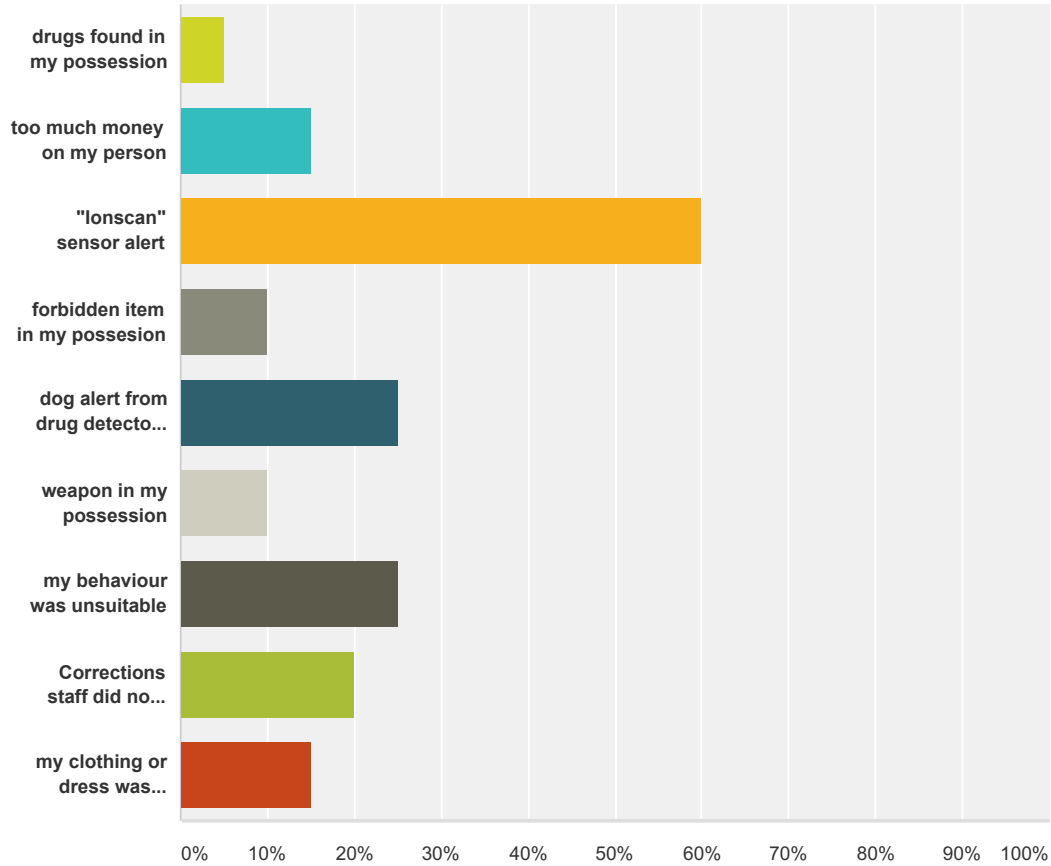


| Answer Choices | Responses |    |
|----------------|-----------|----|
| yes            | 30.30%    | 10 |
| no             | 69.70%    | 23 |
| Total          |           | 33 |

## Visitor Survey

### Q16 If refused entry to a Canadian Corrections facility, what reason was given? (Check all that apply)

Answered: 20 Skipped: 21

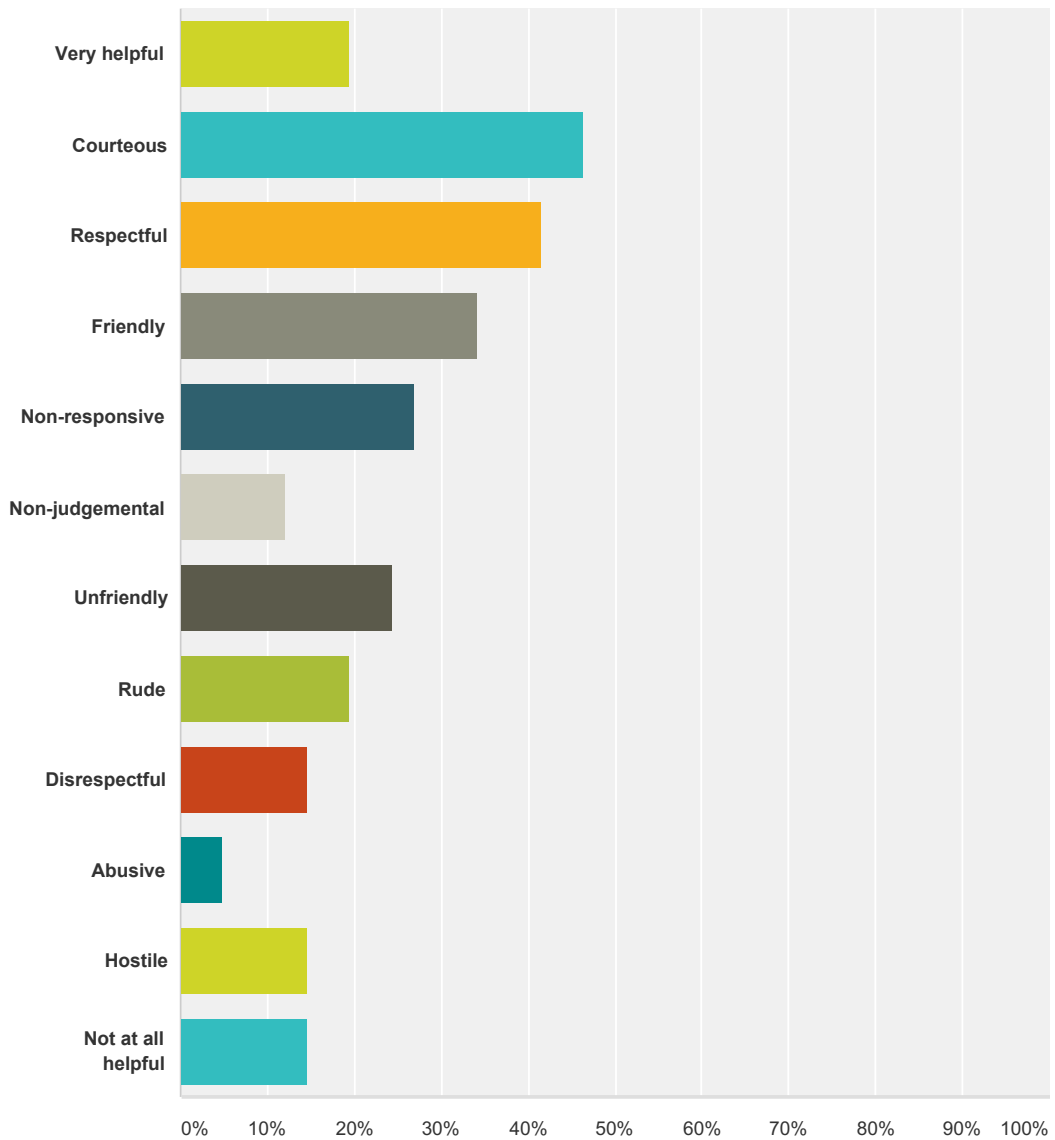


| Answer Choices                                 | Responses |
|--|-----------|
| drugs found in my possession                   | 5.00% 1   |
| too much money on my person                    | 15.00% 3  |
| "lonscan" sensor alert                         | 60.00% 12 |
| forbidden item in my possession                | 10.00% 2  |
| dog alert from drug detector dog               | 25.00% 5  |
| weapon in my possession                        | 10.00% 2  |
| my behaviour was unsuitable                    | 25.00% 5  |
| Corrections staff did not like my attitude     | 20.00% 4  |
| my clothing or dress was considered unsuitable | 15.00% 3  |
| <b>Total Respondents: 20</b>                   |           |

## Visitor Survey

### Q17 During my last visit Correctional staff were.....? (check all that apply)

Answered: 41 Skipped: 0



| Answer Choices  | Responses |
|-----------------|-----------|
| Very helpful    | 19.51% 8  |
| Courteous       | 46.34% 19 |
| Respectful      | 41.46% 17 |
| Friendly        | 34.15% 14 |
| Non-responsive  | 26.83% 11 |
| Non-judgemental | 12.20% 5  |
| Unfriendly      | 24.39% 10 |



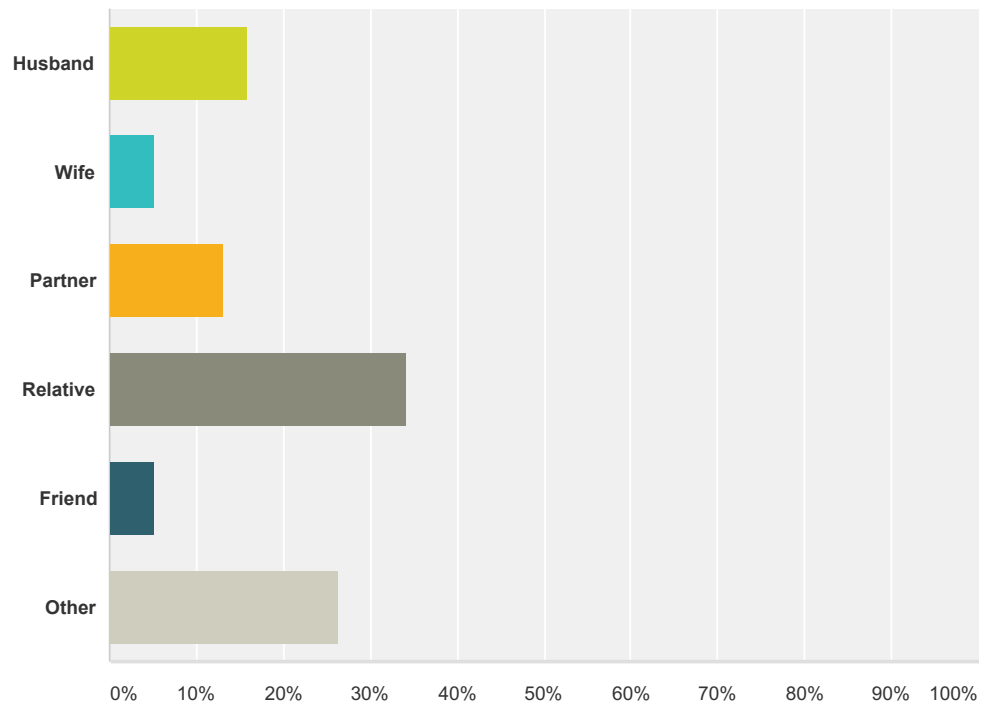
Visitor Survey

|                       |        |   |
|-----------------------|--------|---|
| Rude                  | 19.51% | 8 |
| Disrespectful         | 14.63% | 6 |
| Abusive               | 4.88%  | 2 |
| Hostile               | 14.63% | 6 |
| Not at all helpful    | 14.63% | 6 |
| Total Respondents: 41 |        |   |

## Visitor Survey

### Q18 What is your relationship to the person you visit?

Answered: 38 Skipped: 3

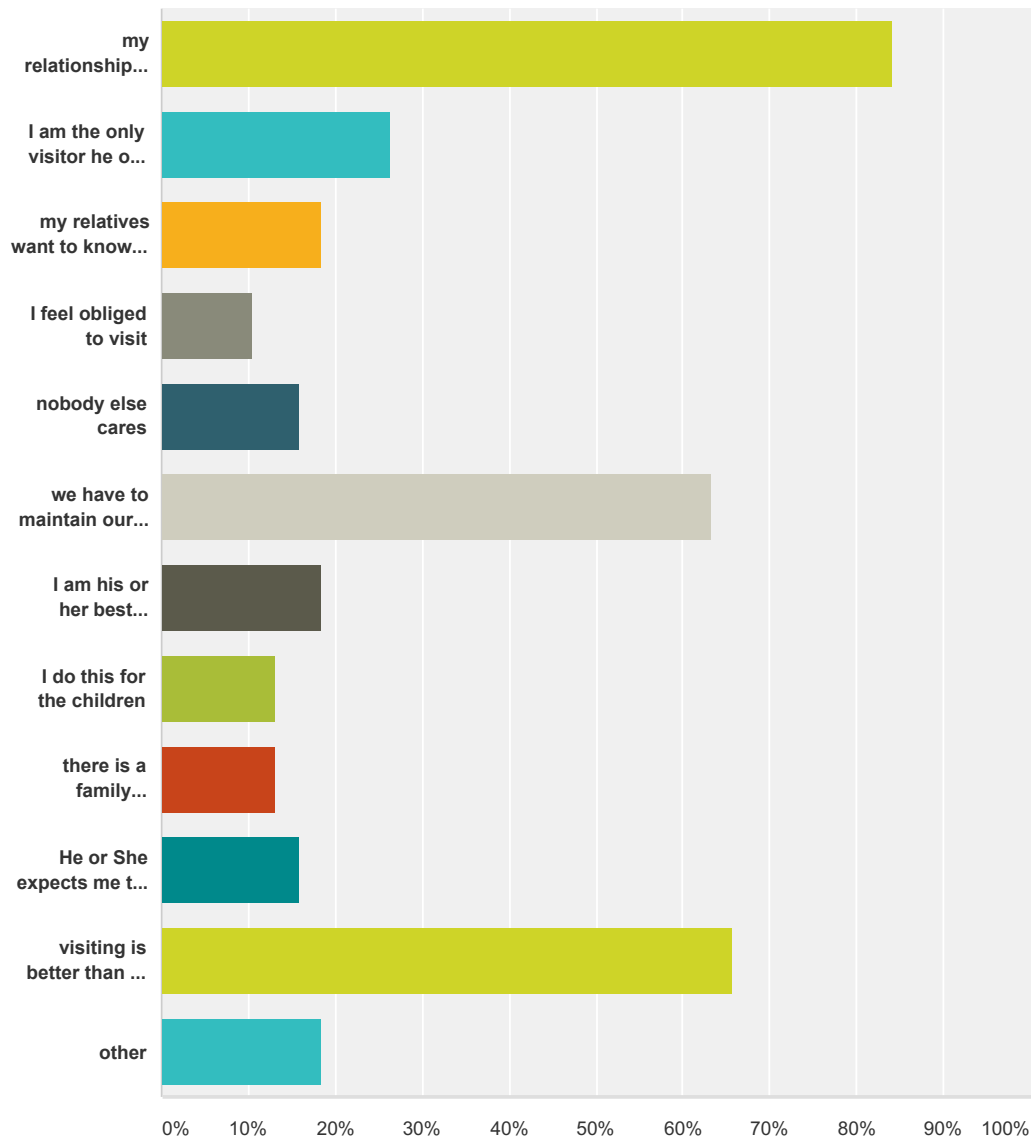


| Answer Choices | Responses |
|----------------|-----------|
| Husband        | 15.79% 6  |
| Wife           | 5.26% 2   |
| Partner        | 13.16% 5  |
| Relative       | 34.21% 13 |
| Friend         | 5.26% 2   |
| Other          | 26.32% 10 |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>38</b> |

## Visitor Survey

### Q19 I visit this person because ( choose all that accurately apply)

Answered: 38 Skipped: 3



| Answer Choices                                   | Responses |    |
|--|-----------|----|
| my relationship is extremely important to me     | 84.21%    | 32 |
| I am the only visitor he or she has              | 26.32%    | 10 |
| my relatives want to know how he or she is doing | 18.42%    | 7  |
| I feel obliged to visit                          | 10.53%    | 4  |
| nobody else cares                                | 15.79%    | 6  |
| we have to maintain our relationship             | 63.16%    | 24 |
| I am his or her best friend                      | 18.42%    | 7  |

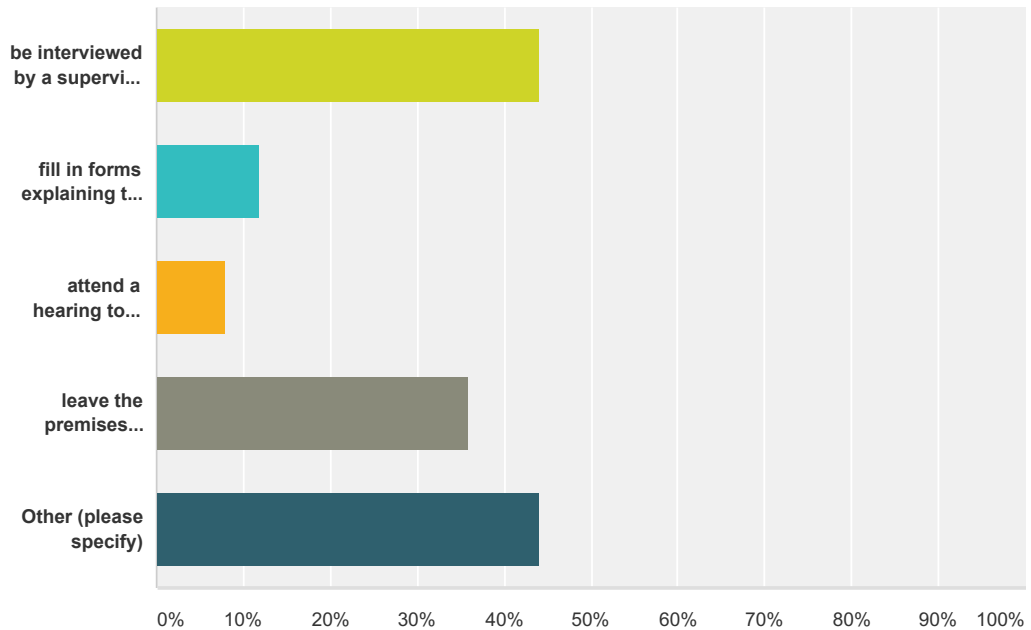
## Visitor Survey

|   |        |    |
|---|--------|----|
| I do this for the children                      | 13.16% | 5  |
| there is a family expectation that I will visit | 13.16% | 5  |
| He or She expects me to visit                   | 15.79% | 6  |
| visiting is better than a phonecall             | 65.79% | 25 |
| other   | 18.42% | 7  |
| Total Respondents: 38                           |        |    |

## Visitor Survey

### Q20 When I had a visit refused, Corrections staff required that I should (check all that apply)

Answered: 25 Skipped: 16

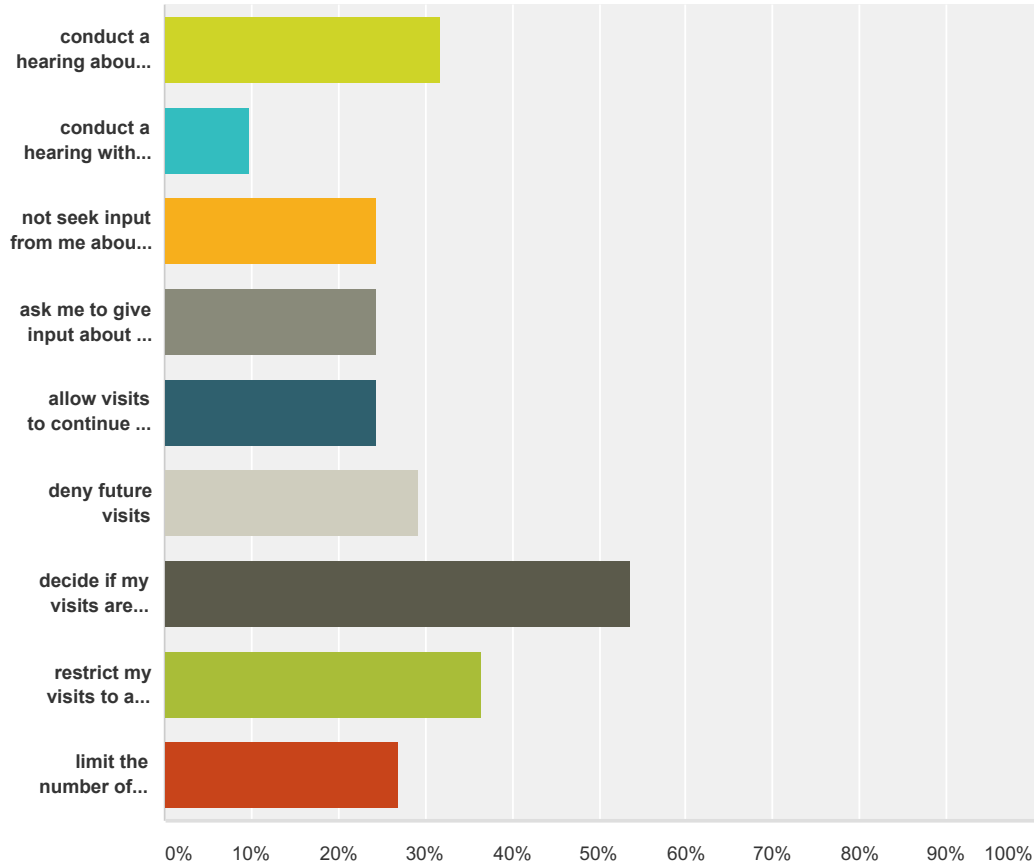


| Answer Choices   | Responses |    |
|--|-----------|----|
| be interviewed by a supervisor from Corrections Canada | 44.00%    | 11 |
| fill in forms explaining the situation                 | 12.00%    | 3  |
| attend a hearing to justify future visits              | 8.00%     | 2  |
| leave the premises immediately                         | 36.00%    | 9  |
| Other (please specify)                                 | 44.00%    | 11 |
| Total Respondents: 25                                  |           |    |

## Visitor Survey

### Q21 If a visit is denied by Corrections staff, I am aware that Corrections Canada will (check all that apply)

Answered: 41 Skipped: 0

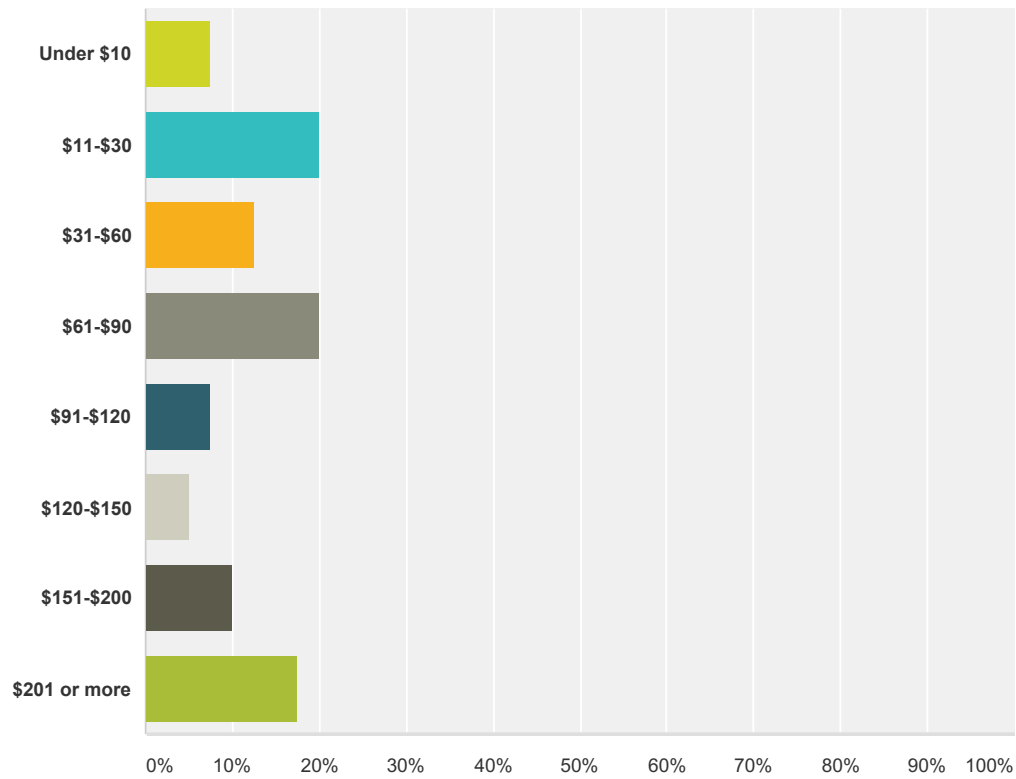


| Answer Choices                                     | Responses |    |
|--|-----------|----|
| conduct a hearing about my visit                   | 31.71%    | 13 |
| conduct a hearing without advising me              | 9.76%     | 4  |
| not seek input from me about my visit              | 24.39%    | 10 |
| ask me to give input about my visit                | 24.39%    | 10 |
| allow visits to continue as before                 | 24.39%    | 10 |
| deny future visits                                 | 29.27%    | 12 |
| decide if my visits are restricted, i.e., "closed" | 53.66%    | 22 |
| restrict my visits to a "designated seating area"  | 36.59%    | 15 |
| limit the number of visits I may make              | 26.83%    | 11 |
| Total Respondents: 41                              |           |    |

## Visitor Survey

### Q22 What does it cost you to travel to and from the facility you normally visit?

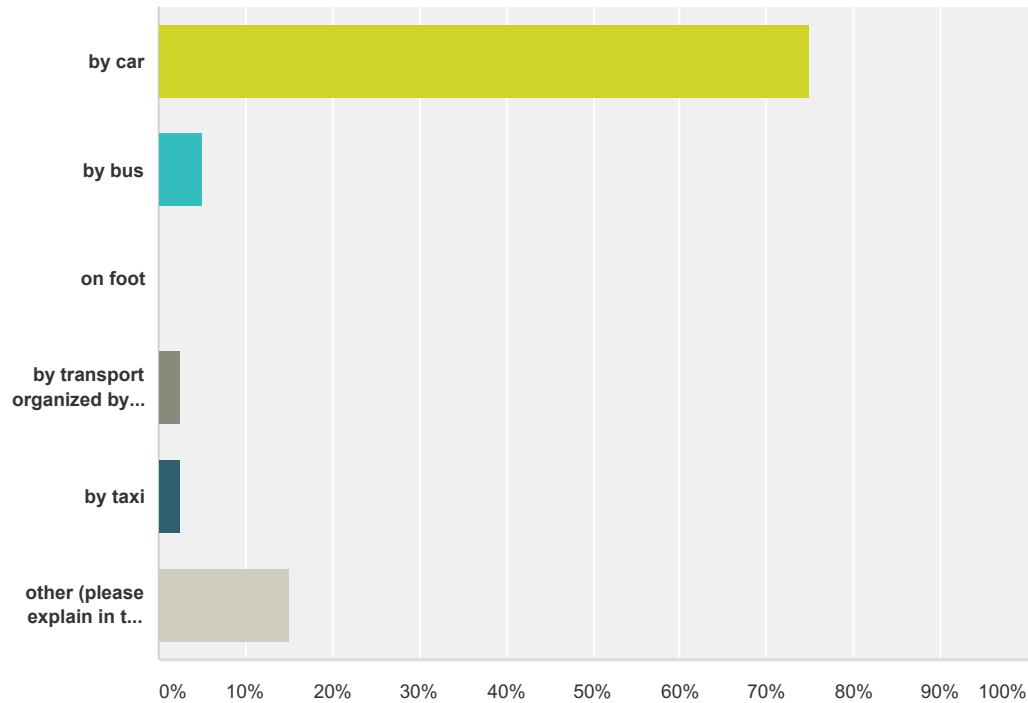
Answered: 40 Skipped: 1



| Answer Choices | Responses |
|----------------|-----------|
| Under \$10     | 7.50% 3   |
| \$11-\$30      | 20.00% 8  |
| \$31-\$60      | 12.50% 5  |
| \$61-\$90      | 20.00% 8  |
| \$91-\$120     | 7.50% 3   |
| \$120-\$150    | 5.00% 2   |
| \$151-\$200    | 10.00% 4  |
| \$201 or more  | 17.50% 7  |
| <b>Total</b>   | <b>40</b> |

Q23 How do you travel to visit the facility?

Answered: 40 Skipped: 1



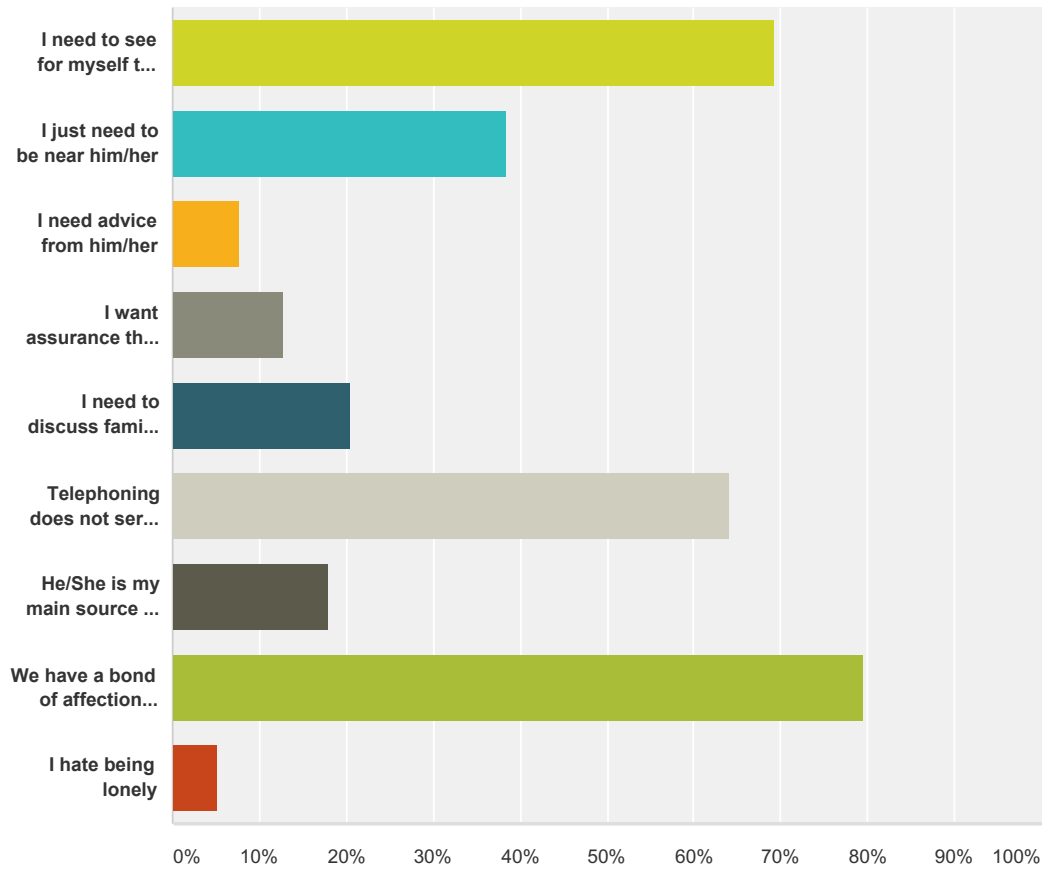
| Answer Choices   | Responses |    |
|--|-----------|----|
| by car   | 75.00%    | 30 |
| by bus   | 5.00%     | 2  |
| on foot  | 0.00%     | 0  |
| by transport organized by John Howard, Elizabeth Fry or St Leonard's Society | 2.50%     | 1  |
| by taxi  | 2.50%     | 1  |
| other (please explain in the space provided)                                 | 15.00%    | 6  |
| Total  |           | 40 |



## Visitor Survey

### Q24 I think visits are important for me to make because :(please choose your three most important answers)

Answered: 39 Skipped: 2



| Answer Choices   | Responses |    |
|--|-----------|----|
| I need to see for myself that he/she is safe           | 69.23%    | 27 |
| I just need to be near him/her                         | 38.46%    | 15 |
| I need advice from him/her                             | 7.69%     | 3  |
| I want assurance that our relationship is still OK     | 12.82%    | 5  |
| I need to discuss family matters                       | 20.51%    | 8  |
| Telephoning does not serve the same purpose as a visit | 64.10%    | 25 |
| He/She is my main source of companionship              | 17.95%    | 7  |
| We have a bond of affection or love                    | 79.49%    | 31 |
| I hate being lonely                                    | 5.13%     | 2  |
| Total Respondents: 39                                  |           |    |

Appendix C     Technologies of Exclusion: V2 , Participant Basic Characteristics

| ID# | Gender | Age | Status     | Children     | Occupation            |
|-----|--------|-----|------------|--------------|-----------------------|
| P1  | F      | 24  | Common-law | aged 3, 4, 6 | Secretary             |
| P2  | F      | 30  | Married    |              | Receptionist          |
| P3  | F      | 65  | Married    | son, aged 26 | Retired               |
| P4  | F      | 26  | Common-law |              | Secretary             |
| P5  | M      | 54  | Common-law |              | Engineer              |
| P6  | F      | 28  | Separated  |              | Dental Technician     |
| P7  | F      | 28  | Common-Law |              | Unemployed            |
| P8  | F      | 30  | Separated  | aged 2       | At home mother        |
| P9  | F      | 43  | Single     |              | Para-Legal            |
| P10 | F      | 24  | Common-law |              | Unemployed            |
| P11 | F      | 30  | Divorced   |              | Retail Sales          |
| P12 | F      | 27  | Married    | aged 2, 5, 7 | Receptionist          |
| P13 | F      | 35  | Married    |              | Receptionist          |
| P14 | F      | 22  | Single     |              | Mechanic              |
| P15 | F      | 24  | Married    |              | Bus Driver            |
| P16 | F      | 25  | Single     |              | Car Sales             |
| P17 | F      | 27  | Married    |              | Unemployed            |
| P18 | F      | 19  | Single     |              | Student               |
| P20 | F      | 34  | Married    |              | Cook, waitress        |
| P21 | F      | 52  | Married    | sons, 15, 18 | Cashier, retail sales |

Alaric Woodrow  
Professional Doctorate Student  
Institute of Criminal Justice Studies  
University of Portsmouth

**REC reference number: 12/13:33**  
**Please quote this number on all correspondence.**

31st October 2013

Dear Alaric,

**Full Title of Study:        TECHNOLOGIES of EXCLUSION: VISITOR VICTIMS (V<sup>2</sup>)**

**Documents reviewed:**

Consent Form  
Participant Information Sheet  
Participant Invitation Letter  
Protocol

Further to our recent correspondence, this proposal was reviewed by The Research Ethics Committee of The Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences. Regarding the correlation of biographical data and survey responses, the committee were content that adequate measures were in place to ensure confidentiality.

I am pleased to tell you, therefore, that the proposal was awarded a favourable ethical opinion by the committee.

Kind regards,

FHSS FREC Chair  
**David Carpenter**

Members participating in the review:

- David Carpenter
- Richard Hitchcock
- Jane Winstone

# FORM UPR16

## Research Ethics Review Checklist

Please include this completed form as an appendix to your thesis (see the Postgraduate Research Student Handbook for more information)

|   |   |  |   |
|---|---|--|---|
| <b>Postgraduate Research Student (PGRS) Information</b>           |   | <b>Student ID:</b>   | 435145  |
| <b>PGRS Name:</b>   | Alaric J. M. Woodrow  |  |   |
| <b>Department:</b>  | Social Sciences   | <b>First Supervisor:</b>                                       | Dr. Jacki Tapley  |
| <b>Start Date:</b><br>(or progression date for Prof Doc students) | cohort of 2011...   |  |   |
| <b>Study Mode and Route:</b>                                      | Part-time <input checked="" type="checkbox"/><br>Full-time <input type="checkbox"/> | MPhil <input type="checkbox"/><br>PhD <input type="checkbox"/> | MD <input type="checkbox"/><br>Professional Doctorate <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> |

|   |   |
|---|---|
| <b>Title of Thesis:</b>                                 | Trauma of the 'Quasi-Prisoner' --the voice of visitors denied access at the prison gates. |
| <b>Thesis Word Count:</b><br>(excluding ancillary data) | 46385   |

If you are unsure about any of the following, please contact the local representative on your Faculty Ethics Committee for advice. Please note that it is your responsibility to follow the University's Ethics Policy and any relevant University, academic or professional guidelines in the conduct of your study

Although the Ethics Committee may have given your study a favourable opinion, the final responsibility for the ethical conduct of this work lies with the researcher(s).

### UKRIO Finished Research Checklist:

(If you would like to know more about the checklist, please see your Faculty or Departmental Ethics Committee rep or see the online version of the full checklist at: <http://www.ukrio.org/what-we-do/code-of-practice-for-research/>)

|  |  |
|--|--|
| a) Have all of your research and findings been reported accurately, honestly and within a reasonable time frame?         | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/><br>NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b) Have all contributions to knowledge been acknowledged?  | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/><br>NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c) Have you complied with all agreements relating to intellectual property, publication and authorship?                  | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/><br>NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d) Has your research data been retained in a secure and accessible form and will it remain so for the required duration? | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/><br>NO <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e) Does your research comply with all legal, ethical, and contractual requirements?                                      | YES <input checked="" type="checkbox"/><br>NO <input type="checkbox"/> |

### Candidate Statement:

I have considered the ethical dimensions of the above named research project, and have successfully obtained the necessary ethical approval(s)

|   |          |
|---|----------|
| <b>Ethical review number(s) from Faculty Ethics Committee (or from NRES/SCREC):</b> | 12/13:33 |
|---|----------|

If you have *not* submitted your work for ethical review, and/or you have answered 'No' to one or more of questions a) to e), please explain below why this is so:

Signed (PGRS):

A handwritten signature in black ink, reading "Karen J. Woodrow", written over a horizontal line.

Date: 19 November 2017